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49. 1740.







THE  
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.



BY THE  
REV. THOMAS THOMSON,  
F. S. A. SCOT.

*FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS.*

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# HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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## CHAPTER I.

Ancient Caledonians—Roman invasion—Arrival of the Scots from Ireland—Saxons invade England—Races by whom Scotland was peopled.

THE history of Scotland, onward to the period of Malcolm Canmore, when the various tribes by which the country was successively occupied assumed the character of a united people, is so enveloped in darkness and mixed with fable, that little more can be done, especially in a work of this limited nature, than to trace the general outline.

Scotland at first was called Caledonia by the Romans, on account of the woods with which the country abounded. These were inhabited by a people still more barbarous than the Britons of the south, and who appear, like the latter, to have been a mixed race, descended partly from the Celts of Gaul, and partly from the Cimbrians of the north of Germany and Denmark. But at what periods these rude tribes had colonized the island, and whether the tide of conquest and population had flowed from north to south, or the reverse, it is impossible now to ascertain. The Caledonians were divided into twenty-five tribes, each apparently independent, and governed by its own chief, and uniting under one head only in cases of common danger, as in the invasion of the country by the Romans.

The Romans having conquered the southern part of the island, now called England, and reduced it to a province, were naturally desirous of perfecting their acquisition by a complete conquest of the northern. Here, however, they found their difficulties increased, by the rugged nature of the country, as well as the fierce valour of its inhabitants; so that after several expeditions full of disaster and loss,

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they were obliged to limit their operations to a mere defensive war. Thus Agricola, the first Roman invader of Caledonia, who drove the inhabitants as far back as the Ffiths of Forth and Clyde, contented himself with erecting a wall between the two estuaries, as the boundary of the Roman empire in Britain. But only thirty years afterwards, this rampart was found so difficult of occupation, that the emperor Adrian, who conducted an expedition in person, found it necessary to withdraw from the ambitious boundary of Agricola, to the Tyne and Solway Friths, where a stronger wall was erected between Newcastle and Carlisle. As the Caledonians still continued their incursions into the province, a fresh attempt was made to confine them within the boundary of Agricola; and, accordingly, his wall of earth which had fallen to decay, was replaced with one of stone during the reign of Antoninus. In the course of these wars, the name of Caledonians disappears in the Roman annals, and gives place to that of Picts, from which it has been erroneously inferred, that a new race under the latter designation must have gradually obtained possession of the country. But this change was merely a nickname, the word Pict signifying a "a painted man;" and it was applied to the rude Caledonians, from the practice of tattooing their naked bodies, which they retained after the provincial Britons had adopted the dress and manners of their conquerors.

Not long, however, after this period, a new people entered, who were destined to change the name of the country itself, as well as to add a powerful element to its population. These were the Scoti or Irish, from Ulster, who made their first appearance upon our coasts about the middle of the third century. Although they obtained a partial footing in Caledonia, they do not seem to have attempted the conquest of the country until about the beginning of the sixth century, when their numbers having been greatly increased by frequent immigrations, they fought successfully against the Picts, established a Scoto-Irish kingdom in the country, and finally imposed a dynasty of their own over both races.

Hence the names of Scotland and Scots, by which our national history was afterwards distinguished. But during these changes of aggression, conquest, and defeat, the Scots and Picts appear to have been heartily united against the Romans and their tributaries of the south; and with rival but united valour, they stormed the Roman wall, and broke into the heart of England, which they filled with havoc and

massacre. The provincials, abandoned by the Roman legions, who were withdrawn to the centre of the empire, and weakened by their long servitude as well as intestine divisions, were unable to cope with so fierce an enemy; and in this emergency, they adopted the last remedy of a weak and despairing people. Finding that no aid was to be expected from Rome, they called in the Saxons to their rescue,—a people already terrible to every coast of Europe, by their valour and piratical expeditions. The Saxons gladly obeyed the summons, and a small force was landed at the isle of Thanet in A. D. 449, under the command of their celebrated chiefs Hengist and Horsa. Placing themselves at the head of the discomfited Britons, these well-armed and disciplined auxiliaries were more than a match for the tumultuary valour of the Scots and Picts, whom they drove back into their native fastnesses. But the Saxons having seen the richness of the land, and the weakness of its people, were in no haste to depart: instead of this, they resolved to become masters of the country they had delivered; and being too few for such a conquest, they invited their countrymen of Germany to come over and share in the spoil. This tempting offer brought whole fleets of Saxon rovers to the fair shores of England, and a war of conquest commenced, in which the invaders, after nearly four centuries of victory and defeat, became the ultimate possessors of the whole land, with the exception of Wales and Cornwall.

The contest for the possession of Scotland lay at first between the Scots and the Picts; but after many conflicts, in which each party was victorious by turns, a marriage was established between Achaius the leader of the Scots, and the sister of the Pictish sovereign. The consequence of this union was, that on the death of Uven (or Owen), the last king of the Picts, who fell in battle against the Danes, Kenneth Macalpine, the Scottish king, as descendant and representative of the two royal houses, became sovereign of both people in A. D. 843, and the Pictish population appears to have been finally absorbed into the Scottish. The territory of the latter people was the mountainous country of Argyleshire, as far as the mouth of the Clyde.

Another considerable district of Scotland, was called the kingdom of Strathclyde, which comprised Clydesdale, Peebleshire, Selkirkshire, and the upper parts of Roxburgshire, bordered on the south by Cumberland. Its inhabitants were Cimbrian, that is, Welsh, and not Celtic Britons; and we know

that they kept up a friendly intercourse with Wales for a long time after the Saxon conquest. The existence of such a people in Scotland accounts for the fact of so many ancient names of places in that country, being not Celtic, but Welsh.

But far beyond even the immigration of the Irish Scots in point of importance, was that of the Saxons, as it was by them that the population, the language, and the national characteristics of Scotland were afterwards to be chiefly constituted. After this enterprising people had obtained possession of England, and established their Heptarchy, the kings of Deira and Bernicia, territories comprising the large county of Northumberland, laid claim to the east coast of their northern neighbours as far as the Frith of Forth. This pretension occasioned a war between the Saxons of these kingdoms and the Picts, in which the contested districts were possessed by each party alternately. The Saxons, however, obtained possession of Fife and Angus, Stirling and Perthshire, and all the north-eastern counties to the northward, with Merse, Teviotdale, and the three Lothians, where they founded Edinburgh, afterwards the capital of Scotland.

In a land which was thus meted out by the sword, and where every stripe was to be won by conflict, it would have been strange if the warlike Dane had failed to enter as a competitor. This predatory people accordingly conquered and colonized Orkney and the Western Isles; they also made repeated descents upon the most fertile parts of the Scottish coast; and though frequently worsted, they were able to establish themselves in Caithness, Sutherland, and part of Ross-shire—all which territories for a long time were governed by chiefs of Danish lineage, who ruled independently of the Scottish kings, and with whom they were frequently at war.

The last of this singular combination of races by whom the country was peopled, occupied Galloway, and the greater part of Ayrshire. These districts were inhabited, partly by Scots from a different part of Ireland than Ulster, and partly by the ancient Pictish occupants; and on account of the rude barbarism in which it was their pleasure to remain, after the rest of the country was partially civilized, they were commonly called the "wild Scots of Galloway."

What a wonderful intermixture does this view present to us of Gothic, Celtic, and Teutonic origin! We behold Picts and Scots, Danes and Saxons, Welsh and Gallowegians, all gradually subsiding into one nation, and arraying them-

selves under a common banner. A country so scanty in its resources and so small in dimensions, yet occupied by so many nations, and tongues, and creeds, and watered with so much contentious bloodshed,—by what strange process were such discordant elements to be fused and welded into one harmonious whole? That divine alchemy was Christianity, short of which, perhaps, nothing could have availed to reconcile, unite, and elevate materials so rude, so various, and so discordant.

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## CHAPTER II.

Introduction of Christianity into Scotland—Arrival of Columba—The Culdees.

ALTHOUGH Christianity was introduced into South Britain so early as the middle, or at least the close of the first century, its entrance into the northern part of the island was of a later date. Even when it was introduced into Scotland, it seems to have made little progress; owing, perhaps, to the hatred entertained by the Picts and Scots against the Romans who introduced, and their contempt of the provincial Britons who embraced, that sacred creed. And even when at last it was preached among the wild forests and mountains of Caledonia, it must have found an obstacle in the division of the people into hostile tribes, and the contentions that prevailed among them; so that for a long time, individual conversions must have been the result of Christian missionary labour, rather than the organization of churches. It is on these accounts that so little has been recorded of the religious history of Scotland during the first five centuries. As for the Romish legends upon the subject, by which the deficiency is attempted to be supplied, they are unworthy of a moment's notice.

In A. D. 563, however, a clear light breaks upon us from the memorable arrival of Columba, commonly called the Apostle of the Scots. Accompanied by twelve pious fellow-labourers of kindred zeal, this illustrious individual stretched across from the Irish coast in a light *curragh*, or boat, constructed of osiers covered with skins, and furnished with a mast and sail, and landed at the small and lonely island of Iona. Here he debarked with his twelve companions, and

as he obtained this bleak rock as a gift from the king of the Picts, who was his kinsman, it was here that he established his principal residence, and founded his far-famed monastery. At first his apostolic labours were most unpromising, owing not only to the barbarous character of the people, but the malice of the Druidical priests, who often attempted his life, while the Pictish sovereign was so influenced by their advices, that he closed the palace doors against the good man's entrance. But Christian zeal triumphed over heathen obduracy and opposition. Scot and Pict were moved alike by his deeds of kindness and charity, as well as by his skilful cures of the diseased, which to their rude minds seemed nothing short of miracles; and when they listened to his instructions, illustrated as they were by an eloquence to which they had been unaccustomed, they relented and believed. The victory thus gained was rapidly improved: the Druids fell into discredit or were converted; the grim national idols disappeared; and before the good apostle had entered into his rest, three hundred monasteries are said to have been founded by him in Scotland, organised upon the plan of that which he had established at Iona.

The monks whom Columba thus introduced into Scotland were called Culdees, the derivation of which name has sorely puzzled antiquarians. Some have supposed it an abbreviation of the Latin words *Cultores Dei*, "worshippers of God;" others, with more probability, have derived it from the Gaelic *cuil*, a retreat or sheltered place, or *Gille de*, "servants of God." Much controversy has been agitated about their belief, and form of ecclesiastical government. It would appear, however, that they had derived both, not from Rome already degenerating, but from the more primitive and apostolic Eastern Church. Instead of caring for Fathers and Traditions, with which the authority of Scripture was now divided, the Culdees, we are informed by one who was opposed to them, would receive only those things which were contained in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and Apostles. Their form of worship was equally primitive and scriptural, and therefore in striking contrast to that formal ritual, and those gorgeous ceremonies which had begun everywhere to disfigure the Christian Church. With regard to their ecclesiastical polity, they seem to have been very nearly assimilated to, if not wholly identified with, Presbyterianism. All the brethren were equal, without a prelate to rule over them; and as for the abbot, who superintended each monastery, he was chosen by the brotherhood, without

any form or rite of consecration that implied his rise to a superior authority, while his office was only that of a permanent Moderator among equals. Thus, every monastery, which was composed of twelve monks and an abbot, was merely a Presbytery, having the parent institution at Iona as the place of final reference and appeal.

In reading of the Culdees as monks also, we must beware of confounding them with their unworthy successors, the Romish monks, by whom their places were afterwards usurped. Under the simple rule of the children of Columba, the monastery was neither the abode of fruitless celibacy, nor yet of dreamy idleness. The monk might marry if he pleased, and have his wife and family within the walls of the building. His entrance into the clerical character also was no easy and indiscriminate measure, as many years of study and probation had to be undergone before he was invested with the sacred office. All this trial was nothing more than necessary, for he had not merely to discharge the duties of a priest, but to be a teacher of the young, and to give instruction not only in religion and letters, but also in gardening, husbandry, and the mechanical arts. Thus the monastery was not merely a church, and a sanctuary of devotion, but also a college of learning and a school of industry, and society, instead of being burdened, was benefited and enriched by a clergy who supported themselves by the labour of their own hands, while they diffused the principles of religion, civilization, and social prosperity.

We cannot distinctly trace the first progress of the Culdees on their occupation of the unhopeful field of Scotland, and the amount of success with which their labours were rewarded. But the number of monasteries which they founded throughout the country, and the influence of their instructions, attest the general favour in which they were held. Neither were their labours confined wholly to Scotland. After Christianity had been introduced into England by Augustine, and several kingdoms of the Heptarchy been converted to the faith, the Culdees of Scotland were summoned to the sacred duties of a missionary church. The cause was this: Edwin King of Northumberland having fallen in battle against a rival sovereign, his son Oswald escaped to Iona, where he was carefully educated by the monks. On being called to his father's throne in A. D. 634, he was anxious for the conversion of his heathen subjects; he applied, however, in this case, not to the Romish monks of England, but to his old spiritual instructors, and re-



quested them to send a teacher to his Northumbrians: The Culdees of Iona selected for this purpose one of their brethren named Corman; but, after a brief stay in this new sphere of labour, he was so disheartened by the gross ignorance and barbarism of the natives, that he returned home, and gave a most discouraging account of his mission. "Brother," exclaimed a voice of reproof, "you seem to have forgot the apostolic direction that little children should be fed with milk, in order to be fitted for stronger food." All eyes were turned upon the speaker, who was Aidan, one of the community. He gladly undertook the mission at their request, and repaired to the court of Oswald. His labours were commenced among the rugged Northumbrians in a spirit of patience and love; and it was while thus employed that a touching and most unwonted spectacle was afforded. As he preached in his own language, being ignorant of that of the country, the king, who accompanied him as his fellow-labourer, interpreted his sermons to the people in Saxon. Their joint exertions were so successful, that, on the first year of his arrival in England (635), Aidan fixed his residence and founded a monastery at Lindisfarne, being probably determined in his choice of that bleak little island by its resemblance to Iona. By this new establishment of religious instruction in England the knowledge of pure Christian doctrine, and the Culdee form of worship, although continually opposed by the Romish clergy, were widely diffused over the country, until the monastery itself was destroyed in the ninth century during an invasion of the Danes.

## CHAPTER III.

Reign of Malcolm Canmore—His wars with William the Conqueror—Arrival of Saxons and Normans into Scotland—Character of Queen Margaret—Fall of Malcolm in battle.

A. D. 1056 to A. D. 1093.

COTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Edward the Confessor—Harold—William the Conqueror—William Rufus.

WITH the reign of Malcolm III., known commonly by the name of Malcolm Canmore, the history of Scotland properly commences. Previous to his accession the shadowy forms of sovereigns pass before us in our national annals, of whom no substantial trace was left behind, and fierce wars were waged, of which neither the causes nor the results can be discovered. But, from the able administration of this energetic sovereign, and the wisdom with which he availed himself of the political changes of the southern part of the island, Scotland gradually assumed the form of a united kingdom, and took her place as a member in the national family of Europe.

Malcolm Canmore (*caen mhor* or large head) was son of that "gracious Duncan" whom Macbeth assassinated, and whose throne he usurped. Such is the version of the greatest of dramatists; but it is just to mention, that Macbeth's claim to the succession was stronger than that of Duncan; and that he slew his successful rival, not at midnight in his own castle, a breach of hospitality at which that rude age would have shuddered, but in broad day light, and in the neighbourhood of Elgin, in the year 1039. In consequence of this slaughter, and the subsequent elevation of the homicide to the throne, Malcolm was obliged to fly to England, where he received from its king, Edward the Confessor, not only a hospitable welcome, but such a training as fitted him for the important task which he was afterwards to fulfil. Encouraged by the Scottish nobles whom Macbeth had alienated, and aided by an English force under Siward Earl of Northumberland, Malcolm returned to Scotland, defeated and slew Macbeth, and was crowned at Scone in April 1056.

During the reign of Edward the Confessor, the peaceful relationships between England and Scotland appear to have

been carefully preserved. But the death of the English king, which occurred in 1066, and the war for the succession which ensued between William Duke of Normandy and Harold, interrupted this harmony between the two British nations. Harold, the most popular and powerful of the English nobles, and who was also brother-in-law of Edward, on the death of the latter seized the vacant throne; but was immediately proclaimed a usurper by the Duke of Normandy, who declared himself the heir-elect of the deceased sovereign. The result of this rivalry was the invasion of England, and that entire subjugation of the country called the Norman Conquest. As Duke William was a merciless victor, who knew only to keep by the sword what the sword had won, multitudes of the English who fled from his oppression found shelter and welcome in Scotland, where they introduced habits of a more perfect agricultural industry, and the principles of a higher civilization. Among the crowds of fugitives was Edgar Atheling, the nearest surviving relative of Edward the Confessor, accompanied by his mother, and his two sisters, Margaret and Christina. They were cordially received at the Scottish court, and in 1068, Malcolm espoused the princess Margaret, who on account of her virtue and piety was afterwards canonized in the hagiology of Scotland.

Malcolm having thus entered into such close relationship with the pretender to the English throne, conceived himself bound to assert his claims, and accordingly he assembled his brave but miscellaneous and undisciplined forces, and broke through the border into the northern counties of England. But the English nobles did not join him as they had promised, and he soon found himself engaged in an expedition beyond his strength. He had purchased the aid of the Danish rovers, who were to join him in a simultaneous descent upon England; but they failed him at his need, while the English, dismayed by the severity of the Conqueror, were unwilling to take arms in support of the Atheling. Malcolm also while engaged in this hopeless invasion found that his own territory of Cumberland was ravaged by an English army. Rendered furious by these disappointments, he wasted the northern counties with terrible havoc, and gave command that the children of both sexes should be carried captive into Scotland. This merciless order was as mercilessly executed, so that the Scots are described as driving before them on their return, whole crowds of little ones, like flocks of sheep. So numerous were these unfor-

fortunate prisoners, that we are told, not only every village and hamlet, but almost every hut in Scotland possessed an English slave. By this frightful inroad, the counties of Northumberland and York were converted into an almost unpeopled desert.

William the Conqueror was not of a temper to brook these injuries tamely; and assembling a large force of foot, and the whole of his splendid Norman cavalry, he marched into Scotland, intending not only to seize the person of Edgar Atheling, but to subdue the whole country. But although he continued his march as far as the Frith of Forth, the obstacles he encountered soon convinced him that the conquest of Scotland was a hopeless task, and as for the Atheling, Malcolm refused to give him up. At length a peace was concluded between the two sovereigns, Malcolm doing homage to William for the lands he held that had belonged to England, and William receiving Edgar into favour, and providing him with a princely maintenance in the palace of Rouen in Normandy.

During these wars which William was obliged to wage against the natives of England before the work of the conquest was completed, Scotland derived incalculable benefit from the immigration of the best and bravest of the English who preferred expatriation to slavery. They came in multitudes, and were received with welcome. But it was not the men of Saxon lineage alone who came to increase the power and population of Scotland. Many of the Norman knights and leaders, either disappointed in the promises with which William had allured them to his standard, or smarting under his oppression, renounced their allegiance, and hurried northward to the court of Malcolm Canmore. Although they brought nothing with them but their horses and good swords, they were endowed by Malcolm with broad lands, for he knew them to be brave and skilful warriors who would prove the best defence of his unsettled kingdom. The result justified his policy, and it is from these Norman refugees that the noblest families of Scotland derive their origin.

While the industry and intelligence of the Saxon character and the chivalrous refinements of the Norman, were thus enlarging the power and improving the national character of Scotland, perhaps a still more influential instrument of civilization was found in Margaret, the English wife of Malcolm Canmore. Making every allowance for the enthusiasm of Turgot, her chaplain and historian, this admirable woman, afterwards canonized as Saint Margaret, was worth

a whole host of those idle females who have been admitted into the Roman Calendar. While her husband was gathering together and consolidating the loose fragments of his kingdom, or resisting the aggressions of the Conqueror, Margaret was endeavouring to refine the manners of his rude court, and further the improvement of his people. The touching picture which the affectionate chaplain has drawn of Canmore's social and domestic life under her gentle superintendence, is better than a thousand tales of heroic chivalry. She possessed such a happy influence over the powerful, but half barbarian mind of her husband, that it appears, she could soothe it even in its fiercest mood. She was pious after the fashion of her church; and in her endeavours to persuade the Culdee clergy of Scotland into what she believed to be a better way of faith and practice, Malcolm, who spoke the Saxon as well as the Celtic tongue, was her affectionate assistant and interpreter. Such indeed was his veneration of her worth and piety, that being unable to read, he was wont to kiss her missals and books of devotion, which he also caused to be splendidly bound and ornamented. Margaret also, as we are informed by the same authority, encouraged the coming of merchants from various countries into Scotland, who imported ornaments, and rich garments of divers colours, which the people were tempted to wear, and which when they had put on, he tells us, they might "almost seem to have become new beings, so splendid did they appear." Here was the creation of a want and a luxury; the foundation of industrial habits and mercantile enterprise. The style of living also which Malcolm adopted, at her instigation, was much superior to that of his predecessors, indicating the sovereign of a nation, rather than the chief of a clan. When he appeared in public, as Turgot continues to inform us with much unction, it was with a state and retinue that astonished his subjects; and when he erected his palace at Edinburgh, after he had secured the Lothians to his dominion, he held levees and gave entertainments, where he was served at table from gold and silver plate—but here the honest ecclesiastic finding that he had gone too far, adds, "at least the dishes and vessels were gilt and silvered over."

But a life so useful to his subjects was brought to a premature close. Malcolm had maintained a bold front both in war and negotiation with William the Conqueror, in which the advantage was generally his own; he had peopled his thinly-inhabited country with races more powerful and

civilized than its earlier occupants ; he had united so many discordant clans and tribes into one nation, and bestowed on them the blessings of order and security by just laws and regulations. But in consequence of the encroachments of William Rufus, the Conqueror's successor, upon Cumberland and Northumberland, war again broke out between the two countries, and Malcolm, with forces hastily levied, repaired to the border, and laid siege to Alnwick. While he was prosecuting the siege, his undisciplined army was surprised on the 13th of November 1093, by a strong Norman and English force, commanded by Roger de Mowbray, and in the engagement Malcolm was slain, with his eldest son, who fell fighting by his side. His second son, who was present in the battle, escaped, and three days after reached the castle of Edinburgh, where his mother lay dying. On his appearance, she exclaimed in a faint but hurried voice, "How fares it with your father, and your brother Edward?" The youth was silent. "I adjure you by the holy cross, and by the duty you owe me," she said more earnestly, "that you tell me the truth." In faltering accents he told her that both her husband and son had fallen in battle. "God's will be done !" exclaimed the pious devoted woman with a heart-broken sigh, and soon afterwards expired.

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## CHAPTER IV.

Usurpation of Donald Bain—He is deposed—Reign of Edgar—Reign of Alexander I.—His contests with the Clergy—Reign of David—His wars with England—Defeated at Northallerton—His death and character.

A. D. 1093, to A. D. 1153.

### COTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

William Rufus—Henry Beauclerk—Stephen.

### IMPORTANT COTEMPORARY EVENTS.

1095. First Crusade to the Holy Land. 1147. Second Crusade.

At his death, Malcolm Canmore left five sons, the eldest of whom being a churchman, was not eligible for the succession, and the others were under age. While the throne was thus vacant, Donald Bain, the nephew, if not the brother of Malcolm Canmore, invaded Scotland from the Western Isles, with a numerous fleet ; and as many of the old Scottish nobles had been impatient of the Saxon ascendancy

and the innovations of Malcolm, Donald soon found abundance of partisans on the mainland, through whose aid he was proclaimed king. In a few months, however, he was deposed by Duncan, an illegitimate son of Malcolm Canmore, who invaded him by the aid of William Rufus, king of England, to whom he had sworn obedience. Duncan occupied the throne, but it does not appear whether he ruled in his own name, or as the regent of his father's children. His reign, however, was brief; for after eighteen months, he was assassinated at the instigation of Donald Bain, who once more resumed the royal seat about the end of 1095.

Donald, during his former occupation of the throne, had been a bitter persecutor of the Norman and Saxon part of the Scottish population, and his expulsion had not taught him wisdom. Identifying himself with the Celtic party, by whom he was supported, he resumed his persecution of the strangers more fiercely than ever. But a meet chastisement from England awaited him. Edgar, the second surviving son of Malcolm Canmore, who had been withdrawn in boyhood from the usurper, collected a southern force under the auspices of William Rufus, and marched into Scotland. Having taken Donald prisoner, he put out his eyes, and ascended the throne as the lawful representative of his father Malcolm. Notwithstanding this stern instance of severity, Edgar is described by an old chronicler as having been "a sweet-tempered, amiable man, and in every thing resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, just, and generous." He reigned nine years, and in consequence of the marriage of his sister Matilda, or Maud, with Henry Beauclerk, king of England, the hostile races of Alfred and the Conqueror were united, to the great joy of the English.

As Edgar, who died in 1106, left no children, he was succeeded by his next brother, Alexander I., commonly surnamed the Fierce. Notwithstanding this ominous title, he waged no wars, except against his usurping clergy, in which he was signally successful. It was unfortunate for Scotland, that by this time the simple unambitious Culdees had begun to be superseded by ecclesiastics of a very different description. The two late kings, who had been educated in England, were eager for the establishment of pompous rites, and a lordly hierarchy in the church, not reflecting that these prelates might in time become their equals, and even their masters. And now came the trial for superiority

between the regal and sacerdotal powers. Turgot, whom we have mentioned as queen Margaret's chaplain, was appointed to the bishopric of Saint Andrews; but when the question came about his consecration to the office, the archbishops of Canterbury and York equally laid claim to the privilege of performing it; the former upon the plea that he was metropolitan of the whole island, and the latter, that the authority of his northern see extended over Scotland. But Alexander, jealous of the independence of his kingdom, denied the claim of either party to interfere; and for two years maintained the conflict so successfully, that at last it was brought to a fair and honourable arbitration. It was agreed between the Scottish and English kings, that the Archbishop of York should perform the ceremony, but that the Scottish Church should be fully recognised and acknowledged as entirely independent of that of England.

As Turgot died in 1115, Alexander was in no hurry to nominate a successor to the see of St Andrews, probably dreading a renewal of the controversy. But in 1120, his choice fell on Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury, who was sent down to Scotland, where he was elected to the bishopric by the king and clergy. Eadmer would needs return to Canterbury, to receive consecration at the hands of its archbishop; but this movement Alexander firmly opposed. After a short time, a compromise was agreed to, that Eadmer should enter office, by receiving the ring from the king's hands, and taking the pastoral staff from off the altar. Still Eadmer felt as if he were not rightly a bishop, and he resolved to go to Canterbury, at least for advice; but Alexander peremptorily commanded him not to leave the kingdom. "I received you altogether free from Canterbury," he sharply said, "and while I live, I will not permit the bishop of St Andrews to be subject to that see." The other replied with equal decision, "For your whole kingdom I would not renounce the dignity of a monk of Canterbury." "Ha!" cried the king, "then I have done nothing in seeking a bishop from Canterbury?" At last, Eadmer was allowed to depart, on condition of resigning his bishopric, and not reclaiming it during Alexander's lifetime, except by advice of the pope, the English king, and his own convent. Eadmer afterwards wrote from England, praying to be recalled, and offering conformity to the royal will; but the king, instead of listening to his request, appointed Robert, prior of Scone, to the vacant bishopric. A third ecclesiastical contest was the result, the Archbishop of York again claiming the right



of consecration ; but this demand was once more quashed by the firmness of the king. Alexander himself died on the 27th of April 1124, soon after this controversy had ended, during which he maintained so ably the independence of the northern church against the arrogant assumptions of the English primates.

Alexander I. was succeeded in the throne by David, the youngest son of Malcolm Canmore. This new sovereign had lived in England from childhood, and enjoyed a liberal education at the court of Henry Beauclerk, where in his capacity of Earl of Cumberland, he ranked as an English baron. Accordingly, when Henry called the nobles and prelates of his kingdom, in 1127, to pledge their support of his daughter, Matilda, to the succession of the English crown, the King of Scotland was the first who took the oath. On the usurpation of the throne, therefore, by Stephen of Blois, to the exclusion of Matilda, war was inevitable between the two kingdoms. David, in fulfilment of his plight, entered England, in 1135, with his motley army of many races, and compelled the northern barons to swear allegiance to Matilda. On hearing of these successes, Stephen said, "What the Scottish King has gained by stealth, I will recover with open blows," and forthwith marched northward with his army to drive back the Scots. But no engagement took place ; for while David was conscious of the want of discipline and concert among his ill-armed miscellaneous forces, Stephen knew that several of the nobles who accompanied him were secretly attached to the cause of the rightful heiress. An agreement was therefore entered into at Newcastle, in February 1136, by which Stephen engaged to confer upon Henry, David's eldest son, the earldom of Huntingdon, and the towns of Carlisle and Doncaster, and to take into consideration the young prince's claims to the possession of Northumberland, in right of his mother Maud, daughter and heiress of Waltheof, the last earl of that county.

While David thus sacrificed the interests of Matilda to his own, Stephen had purchased his neutrality by concessions which he had no intention to fulfil. The war, therefore was renewed before the end of the year, by David, who complained that his son had been defrauded of the possession of Northumberland. But the real cause was an urgent invitation from the English nobles belonging to the party of Matilda, who hoped, through the aid of the Scots, to dethrone Stephen, and reinstate their mistress. In 1137,

David burst into Northumberland, where his wild followers ravaged the country without mercy or check. In March of the following year he repeated the invasion, defeated the English at Clitheroe, and swept through Northumberland and part of Yorkshire, till he reached Northallerton. Stephen, who was fully occupied with his own hostile barons, was unable to march against these fierce invaders; but the nobles of the northern counties proved true to their country on this trying occasion. They raised their armed retainers, and accompanied by Thurstan, archbishop of York, they marched against the Scots, whom they found encamped at Northallerton. On the evening before the battle, David was visited successively by Robert de Bruce and Bernard de Baliol, who, like many other Norman nobles held land in both kingdoms, but who considered England as their proper country. The purpose of their coming was to dissuade the Scottish king from prosecuting the war, and they represented to him how impolitic it was to irritate the Normans of England, who had so often been the firmest supporters of his predecessors on the throne. David turned a deaf ear to their arguments, upon which they renounced their allegiance to him for the lands they held in Scotland, and returned to the English camp.

On the morning of the 22d of August 1138, was fought the memorable battle of the Standard. In the centre of their army the English had a car, from the middle of which arose a tall mast adorned with three consecrated banners, and surmounted by a pyx containing the host; and from this half religious, half military ensign, which was common to the middle ages, the battle derived its name. It would have been well for the Scots if they had possessed such an effective rallying point; for their army consisted of Normans, Germans, and English, of Cumbrian Britons and Danish Northumbrians, the men of Teviotdale and the Lothians, the Scots of the Highlands, and the savage inhabitants of Galloway—men differing in race, language, and habits, and still farther disunited by contending interests and feuds. David meant to have commenced the battle by an onset of his well-appointed cavalry, but, on the previous evening, there had been a fierce dispute among his followers about the honour of leading the van, which was claimed, and at length obtained, by the "wild Scots of Galloway." These half-naked warriors accordingly commenced the engagement, and with such a headlong charge as made the dense ranks of the English bill-men reel, and all but turn to flight, when

the archers came to their support: the men of Galloway, unprotected by any kind of defensive armour, were unable to endure these thick and deadly discharges of the "cloth-yard shaft," and, after losing many of their bravest, they yielded in turn, and hastily fell back upon the main body. Prince Henry, on seeing their discomfiture, advanced at the head of the Scottish cavalry, and made so terrible an onset, that the English ranks are described as having been rent asunder like a spider's web. The Gallowegians rallied, and victory seemed within the grasp of the Scots, when an English soldier advanced with a gory head upon a spear crying aloud that this was the head of the King of Scotland. This rude stratagem succeeded: the panic-struck Scots turned and fled, and, although David galloped among his ranks bareheaded, to shew himself to his soldiers, he was swept off the field by a torrent of fugitives. Had it not been for this incident, in itself so trivial, David would have conquered, in which case England might have been subdued as far as the Humber, and Scotland raised to the pre-eminence as the leading country of Britain. But it was better that it should be otherwise, even as the Ruler of nations had decreed. As it was, the defeat was lightly felt, for while the English were unable to pursue, the Scots rallied, retired slowly to Werk, the castle of which they took and rased, and then returned home, more like a conquering army than a host of baffled fugitives. The consequences of this battle also, were fully equal to those of a victory to the Scots, for in a treaty that followed, called the Peace of Durham, Stephen agreed not only to yield up Northumberland, but also the towns of Bamborough and Newcastle.

After this, David, and the nation at large, sustained a mournful bereavement in the death of the brave and good Prince Henry, the all but victor in the field of Northallerton, and in whom the people had treasured up their fondest hopes. His father's death, which was probably accelerated by the event, occurred in 1153, only one year after the demise of Prince Henry.

The character of David, as delineated in the early chronicles, is truly worthy of notice. To prudence and skill in negociation, as well as valour in the field, by which the interests of his people were so signally promoted, he added the virtues of clemency and humanity, so that in his wars he was as anxious to repress the excesses of his soldiers as to secure the victory. Following his father's example in the centralization of the kingdom, he fixed his residence

first at Dunfermline, in Fifeshire, where a small tower is still shewn as the remains of his palace, and afterwards at Edinburgh, where he founded the palace of Holyrood. As so much of his territory was debateable ground, and open to English incursions, he appears to have thought, that he could best protect the more exposed parts by consecration, and with this view to have founded the abbeys of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Jedburgh, which he richly endowed with crown lands. If this, however, was the motive, his calculations were not realised, for the rich shrines, and well-cultivated acres, only tempted the cupidity of the invaders, so that even these monasteries, in spite of their sanctity, were visited oftener than once by armed exactors and plunderers. Upon these inordinate grants also, the churchmen became rich, indolent, and luxurious, as well as proud and rapacious. It was while contemplating these large donations, by which the royal revenues were impoverished, that James I., a descendant of David, said of the latter, now canonized, "By my faith, he was a sore saint to the crown!"

But the social and domestic life of this sovereign was so truly amiable, that it forms a green oasis amidst the dry and barren records of this barbarous age. On certain appointed days he sat like a patriarchal chief at his palace gate to relieve the poor and redress the wrongs of the aggrieved; and when he was compelled to give an unfavourable decision, he was anxious to satisfy the disappointed suitor by explaining the grounds of the refusal. At sunset he dismissed his attendants, and retired to meditate upon his duty to God and his subjects. Although a keen hunter, like the kings and nobles of his day, "Yet," says Aldred, "I have seen him quit his horse, and dismiss his hunting equipage, when any, even the meanest, of his subjects implored an audience." This attractive touch of character must have appeared incomprehensible to the English monarchs, who were said to love the deer better than their people, on which account they laid waste whole districts, and converted them into hunting-grounds. David was also a horticulturist, employing his leisure hours in engrafting trees, and cultivating the fruits of his garden. His death, which was sudden, at the age of seventy-five, was correspondent to his life and character. His attendants found him dead in bed, with his hands closed over his breast in the attitude of prayer.

## CHAPTER V.

Reign of Malcolm IV.—Reign of William the Lion—His wars with England—Taken prisoner at Alnwick—His conflicts with the clergy—Reign of Alexander II.—Wars against John—His administration—Reign of Alexander III.—Refuses to do homage to the King of England—Battle of Largs—Death and character.

A. D. 1153 to A. D. 1286.

## COTEMPORARY KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Henry II.—Richard I.—John—Henry III.—Edward I.

## IMPORTANT COTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1154. Nicholas Breakspear (Adrian IV.) the only Englishman elected to the Papedom.
- 1171. Thomas à Becket murdered at Canterbury.
- 1172. Henry II. conquers Ireland.
- 1204. The Inquisition established by Pope Innocent III.
- 1215. Magna Charta signed by King John.
- 1270. The eighth and last Crusade.

DAVID was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm IV., son of that Prince Henry who has been already mentioned. As the new sovereign was only twelve years old at his accession, he forms the first instance of a boy-king that occurs in Scottish history. He was crowned at Scone in 1153, and either from the feminine character of his features, or his pliancy of disposition, he was called Malcolm the Maiden. The earlier part of his reign was disturbed by invasions of the fierce islanders of the Hebrides, under their chief, Somerled; but Malcolm soon found a more dangerous enemy, in Henry II of England. This king so wrought upon the youth and softness of the Scottish sovereign, and acquired such an ascendancy over him, as filled his subjects with indignation. Malcolm carried his complaisance so far, that he even accompanied Henry to France, served under his banner, and received knighthood at his hands. He was soon recalled however by his subjects, who resented the interference of the English king with their councils and government. Malcolm was also so infatuated, or so timid, as to surrender to Henry his possessions in Cumberland and Northumberland, which counties ever afterwards formed part of the English kingdom. After a peaceful but inglorious reign of twelve years, Malcolm died at Jedburgh, on the 9th of December 1165, and was succeeded by his brother William.

This king is distinguished in Scottish history by the title of William the Lion. He had been justly indignant at his brother's tame surrender of the Scottish possessions in England, especially that of Northumberland, and in the hope of recovering the latter by negotiation, he repaired to Henry II, then in France, and engaged in the reduction of Bretagne. Henry received his royal visiter at the castle of Mount Saint Michael with a fair show of courtesy, and promised the restitution of Northumberland. William waited patiently in expectation, but after seven years had elapsed without fulfilment of the promise, he adopted the ungenerous expedient of allying himself with the sons of Henry, now at war with their own father, from the eldest of whom he obtained a grant not only of the earldom of Northumberland, but also that of Cambridge. In consequence of this tempting bribe, he plunged into the unnatural contest, and marched into England in 1173, but was unable to accomplish more than a petty inroad. On the following year, he again crossed the borders with a numerous but undisciplined army, and swept through Northumberland to the gates of Alnwick. The Yorkshire barons raised four hundred men-at-arms to aid their distressed neighbours, and by a forced march reached Alnwick, which they approached in a heavy mist. William who was careering before the walls in military pastime, with only sixty armed attendants, while his troops were scattered loosely over the country, imagined these new comers to be part of his own forces; but when he perceived his mistake, instead of retiring, he couched his lance, set spurs to his horse, and exclaiming, "Now we shall see which of us are good knights!" he rode in full tilt against the English cavalry. This freak of knight-errantry fared as it deserved, for he was quickly overpowered and taken prisoner, upon which all his attendants surrendered that they might share in his captivity. The unknightly unkingly indignities to which the captive monarch was now subjected, must have read him a bitter lesson upon the sin of abetting traitors and parricides. His legs were tied under his horse's belly, as if he had been a captured felon, and in this fashion he was brought into the presence of Henry, then at Northampton. The latter had been in the act of performing penance at the tomb of the murdered Thomas à Becket, and submitting his naked back to the scourges of the monks on the very day that the capture of the Scottish king was effected; but although these rough acts of devotion had lacerated his flesh and thrown him into a fever, they failed to soften his heart. Resolving

to make the most of the advantage, he carried his noble prisoner a few weeks after to the strong fortress of Falaise in Normandy, where he demanded, and at length obtained from William, as the price of his deliverance, an oath of allegiance for Scotland itself, by which the latter became the vassal of the king of England. This treaty was ratified between them on the 8th of December 1174, and so impatient were the Scots for his return, that the nobles and clergy in full council at once assented to the agreement by which the liberties of their country were so shamefully signed away.

After his return to Scotland, William was fated, as his ungenerous rival had been, to encounter a papal war and a contumacious primate, but with this difference, that he lost no honour in the contest as Henry II. had done. The circumstances were the following: Richard, bishop of St Andrews, having died in 1178, the chapter proceeded to elect a successor by their own authority, and their choice fell upon John Scot, a native of England, who had a high reputation for scholarship. But by this act, the royal and ecclesiastical powers were brought into hostile collision. Hitherto, in Scotland as in England, the right of electing to the primacy had been regarded as a royal prerogative, but disagreement with the church had been carefully avoided, by the king and clergy agreeing in the same choice. Now, however, the case was otherwise, as William had destined the vacancy for Hugh his chaplain; and when he heard of the election of the chapter, he exclaimed, "By the arm of St James, Scot shall never be bishop of St Andrews!" On account of the king's refusal, Scot appealed to Pope Alexander III.; but undismayed by this step, William arrested the revenues of the bishopric, and put Hugh in possession of the see. Incensed at this act of defiance, the pope, after several menaces which were disregarded, proceeded to the terrible alternative of excommunicating the king, and laying Scotland under an interdict; but still William remained unmoved. The crisis had arrived in which one of the parties must yield, and the pontiff had reached that point at which he must either recede with disgrace, or preach a crusade against the Scots and offer their crown to a stranger. But death stepped in to resolve the perplexing problem. Alexander III. died, and was succeeded by Lucius III.; and as it was a frequent practice with each new pontiff, to indulge in the sweets of power by reversing the decrees of his predecessor, Lucius repealed the excommunication and interdict, and made proposals for reconcilia-

tion. A harmonious compromise was the consequence ; and so complete was the victory of William, that the pope himself confirmed the appointment of Hugh to the bishopric of St Andrews, while that of Dunkeld was bestowed by Lucius upon Scot, with the royal permission.

Events soon occurred also, by which William was freed from his degrading vassalage to the king of England. Henry II. was succeeded by his son Richard I., commonly called *Cœur de Lion*, and as the new sovereign was anxious to join the third crusade, he wished to leave his dominions in peace and security, before embarking for so distant a country as Palestine. He also needed money to defray the expenses of so costly an expedition. These motives, combined with his natural generosity, made him willing to renounce the superiority over Scotland, and restore the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick, on receiving the sum of ten thousand merks. The ransom was cheerfully paid. After this William enjoyed a peaceful and prosperous reign, interrupted only by an insurrection in Caithness, which he speedily quelled in person, and by a misunderstanding with John, the successor of *Cœur de Lion*, about the erection of a fort at Tweedmouth. After a lingering disease, he died at Stirling in December 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign.

William the Lion was succeeded by his son Alexander II. This prince was only seventeen years old at his accession ; but he soon gave such proofs of vigour, activity, and wisdom in his administration, as commanded obedience and respect. He was forthwith involved in the civil war between John and his barons, which was now desolating England ; and in consequence of an invitation from the latter, who promised Northumberland and Carlisle as the price of his aid, Alexander raised an army, and crossed the border. But while he was investing the castle of Norham, John approached with a superior force composed of the mercenary scum of the continent, and headed by " Buch the murderer," " Godeschal the iron-hearted," " Falco without bowels," " Manleon the bloody," and other such ruffians, whose names attest the character of their military proceedings. Alexander retreated before these swarms of banditti, and John swearing that he would " unkennel the young fox," advanced as far as Edinburgh. But finding that a vigorous resistance awaited him, his heart failed as it was wont when boldly confronted, so that he retreated more rapidly than he came, destroying on his way the towns of



Haddington, Dunbar, and Berwick. Alexander made a second invasion into England, chased John into the heart of his dominions, and on his return, took and fortified Carlisle. But the sudden death of the tyrant, and the marriage of the young Scottish king with Joan, sister of Henry III., John's successor, restored the amicable relationship between the two countries, and left Alexander at leisure to cultivate the arts of peace, and devote himself to the improvement of his subjects.

These kingly duties indeed were urgently demanded, as may be learned from the following incident, which occurred in 1222. Adam, bishop of Caithness, having rendered himself obnoxious by a rigorous exaction of his tithes, the people assembled to deliberate upon a remedy. Their decision was worthy of a band of savages: "Short rede, good rede; slay we the bishop!" They proceeded to action, by surrounding the prelate's house, and setting it on fire. Some of his servants, who had escaped through the flames, came in breathless haste to the Earl of Orkney and Caithness, to crave assistance for their master; but he coolly replied, that if the bishop would *come* to him, he would grant him protection. The unfortunate bishop, hemmed in by a yelling crowd, was soon burnt to death. Alexander, who was upon a journey to England, as soon as he heard these tidings, turned back, levied a force, and hurried into Caithness, where he slew four hundred of those who had been actors in the murder. Nine years afterwards, a righteous retribution befel the inhuman Lord of Caithness. A new bishop, at the head of the fickle multitude, fired the palace of the earl, who perished in the flames.

Besides the barbarous Danish population of these districts, the king was occupied with his Celtic subjects, and the wild Scots of Galloway, who rebelled because he sought to establish laws that should be common to the whole kingdom. After an active and useful reign, Alexander II. died in the obscure island of Kerrera, while endeavouring to suppress an insurrection in the Hebrides. By his first wife he left no children; but by his second, Mary, of the French house of De Couci, he had one son, who, at the early age of eight years, succeeded his father in 1249, under the title of Alexander III.

Even at his accession, this boy-sovereign was assailed with the question of homage for Scotland put forth by the king of England. The matter had been already settled in the treaty between Cœur de Lion and William; but Henry III.

thinking the present opportunity favourable, renewed the relinquished claim : he even requested the pope to interdict the coronation of the young king, until his own permission had been granted as feudal superior. Alarmed at these movements, the Scottish nobles hurried forward the ceremony ; and that the rite might be complete, which required that the new-made sovereign should have been previously a knight, the child was dubbed and crowned on the same day by the bishop of St Andrews. Henry being thus disappointed, had recourse to another expedient. He proposed that the marriage contracted during the reign of Alexander II., between the young king of Scots and his own daughter Margaret, should be fulfilled. This was assented to, and accordingly, a short time after the coronation, Alexander III. repaired to England to espouse a bride two years younger than himself. The gravity and pomp with which this weighty event was solemnized at York, must have made it hard for even the most practised courtiers to keep their countenances. On the marriage-day the bride was attended by a thousand knights clothed in rich garments of silk, which the day after they exchanged for still more splendid attire ; and as for the bridegroom, sixty knights waited upon his person. That the viands also might be commensurate with the importance of the event, the Archbishop of York, who solemnized the union, caused six hundred stall-fed oxen to be slain, which speedily disappeared at the marriage banquet. But a churlish reckoning was meant to be exacted by Henry, who in the midst of all this feasting and merry-making renewed the subject of fealty, and proposed that Alexander should do homage to him for the kingdom of Scotland. The boy had been probably tutored by his father's wise counsellors in anticipation of this demand, and he answered briefly and boldly, " I am here by invitation of the king of England in all peace and good faith, to enter into alliance by marriage, and not to answer such question as is now propounded without the solemn advice of my council." While Henry was staggered and silenced by this reply, Alexander wisely profited by the lesson, so that repeatedly, in after years, when he went to visit his father-in-law, he stipulated that no state affairs should be discussed between them during the period of his residence in England.

When Alexander III. had reached the age of twenty-two, a more formidable danger than the diplomacy of the English king impended over the liberties of Scotland, from an inva-

sion of Danes and Norwegians. These grim marauders, who for centuries had swept every sea and desolated every coast, had at last been so narrowed in their range, that little more than the iron-bound shores and lowly huts of Scotland remained to be plundered. This was but a miserable glean- ing after the rich harvests they had reaped in England and France ; and although they had landed repeatedly in Scot- land, they generally found that hard blows were more abundant than booty. But in the present instance, they had injuries to revenge, as well as plunder to win, for the Danish chieftains of the Hebrides had been either allured or forced into obedience to the Scottish crown ; and in a late expedition, the islesmen themselves, the kinsmen of these northern rovers, had been treated with barbarous severity. Their preparations to invade Scotland were made upon a scale commensurate with the greatness of the undertaking. The largest fleet that had ever set sail from Norway, and commanded by Haco its king in person, arrived upon the western coast on the 1st of October 1263, where the Nor- wegians captured the islands of Bute and Arran, and afterwards disembarked upon the opposite coast at Largs. The Scottish army was drawn up to receive them, and an engagement, or rather series of engagements took place, which lasted two days. The Norsemen fought with a valour worthy of their ancient renown : Alexander was wounded in the face by an arrow, the High Steward was slain, and at times the Scots were thrown into confusion. But while the battle was at the hottest, a storm more terrible than even the fierce conflict of the two armies commenced, by which the ships of the invaders were plucked from their anchorage and dashed against each other, or flung upon the shores and rocks, where their crews were massacred by the natives. The hearts of the Norwegians fainted at the spectacle ; they retreated, were pressed to the very edge of the sea, and struck down in heaps by the victorious Scots. Amidst the confusion, Haco rallied a remnant of his forces, whom he embarked in the vessels that still remained uninjured, and effected his escape to Orkney, where he died a few days after of a broken heart. In his last moments, he endeavoured to soothe his indignant spirit with the thought, that his defeat was owing to more than human power. "The arm of God," he said, "and not the strength of man, hath repulsed me, wrecked my ships, and sent death among my soldiers." He also caused the chronicles of the Norwegian kings to be read by his bedside ; and to these wild records of

rapine and massacre, strangely mixed with the church's prayers and rites for the dying, he continued to give attention until he had ceased to breathe.

After this signal deliverance from danger, the career of Alexander III. was active and prosperous. The king of Man became his vassal; the Western Isles, and all the islands in the southern seas, were ceded by Norway to the Scottish crown; and Alexander maintained the independence of his kingdom not only against the claims of Henry III. and Edward I., but those of the pope, whose legate he prohibited from crossing the border, when he would have come to levy taxes upon the cathedrals and churches. By the marriage also of his daughter Margaret to Eric king of Norway, and that of Alexander his son to the daughter of the Earl of Flanders, his political influence was not only strengthened, but the hope of succession apparently secured. Mournful reverses, however, were at hand, and fatal equally to himself and to Scotland. His son died without issue; his daughter Margaret also died, leaving no children, except a female infant, known in our history as the Maiden of Norway. The king, still in the prime of life, took for his second wife, Joleta, daughter of the Count of Dreux; but only a short time after the marriage, while riding in a dark night between Burntisland and Kinghorn, his horse fell over a rocky precipice that overhung the sea, and killed him in an instant. This tragic event occurred on the 19th of March 1286 in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign.

The affectionate recollections of the Scots, heightened as they were by this melancholy close, and the national calamities that followed, continued to cling to the name of Alexander III. not only for years, but for centuries. It would appear that he was truly worthy of their love; for from the numerous accounts which have been handed down of his character and administration, we might almost form the complete picture of a perfect king. Even making every allowance for the ardour of his eulogists, we can perceive that he was prudent, active, just, merciful, and brave; and that these qualities were heightened in the eyes of a people still rude and simple, by an attractive countenance and commanding form. He was also pious, but without that superstition of the day which was so ready to concede every thing to Rome. At a time also when England was devoured by its nobility, whose numerous trains passed over it like locust-clouds, and lived at free quarters, Alexander prevented

the practice in Scotland, by limiting the attendants of his courtiers to a merely necessary number. He divided the kingdom into four districts, through which he made an annual circuit, to dispense justice and punish offenders. Such an administration, combined with his encouragement of traffic, promoted order, security, and plenty, so that his reign was long after quoted as the golden age of Scotland.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Government of Scotland—Patriarchal and Feudal systems—Affection of the Scots for their feudal lords—Institution of Chivalry—Weapons of the Scots.

To understand the condition of Scotland at this period, as well as the subsequent events of its civil and military history, it is necessary to consider the nature of that rule which was established among the people. We find that two distinct forms of government prevailed in Scotland, the representatives of the two races by which the country was chiefly peopled. These were the Patriarchal or Celtic, and the Feudal or Germanic.

The first of these, which may be regarded as the most simple, was also the earliest of all governments: it existed in the days of Abraham and Lot, and coerced the tribes of Syria as well as the clans of the mountains and glens of Scotland. Being thus so primitive, and so generally understood, it may be dismissed in a few words. The Celtic form, by which the patriarchal principles were modified, was introduced into Scotland by the Irish invaders, and established over the land, until the Celtic race was compelled to withdraw before the superior energy of the Lowland population. Its leading principle was, that the chief was the **FATHER** of his people. The country or district which he possessed, he held for the benefit of his clansmen, who were all more or less his relations, and it was divided among them according to proximity in relationship; for which allotments they were bound to yield him filial obedience in peace, and to follow his standard in war. And that obedience was the obedience of the East, and of the primitive ages of man—unhesitating, unyielding, and com-

plete. Thus an early Scottish king was nothing more than a chief of chieftains, whom the latter obeyed from interest, or because he was the stronger; but in every other respect, each clan was a complete government,—a little kingdom within itself, recognising no head but its own chief, who represented the common ancestor from whom its members were descended.

As for the Feudal or Germanic system, which had been advancing in Scotland since the days of Malcolm Canmore, until it became, before the death of Alexander III., the recognised form of the Scottish government—although it resembled the Celtic in its general details, yet in its most important principle it was essentially different. It rejected that recognition of consanguinity between ruler and subject which forms the very life of the patriarchal system. The chief, instead of being the Father, was merely the Leader of his people: superior bravery and success in war had raised him to that distinction, and his claim to the obedience of his followers was purchased by victories and conquests. Such was the principle of rule with which the rude tribes of the north emerged from their dim cold forests on the decay of the Roman empire, and under which they took possession wherever they obtained the mastery; and with their wide conquests, the principle expanded into a voluminous code, that was at length recognised as the political law of Europe. When a country was conquered, the successful leader of the invasion naturally became its king; and as both the soil and the people were the spoil of his conquest, they were allotted to his followers in proportion to their services and merits. The captains so rewarded became dukes, earls, and barons, having territorial rule, according to the size of their possessions. But as these minor potentates had received their holdings from the king, they were bound to requite him with obedience; and if they failed, their feudal tenure was forfeited, and might be given to another. As for their duties, they were chiefly of a military nature. When their sovereign made war, these crown vassals, as they were called, were bound to repair to the royal standard with a certain number of armed followers; and the crown vassal was easily able to muster the requisite number, by subdividing his district among knights and gentlemen, his followers, who in consideration of the land they held, were bound to follow him with a number of armed men proportioned to their tenure.

The feudal system was thus admirably calculated to re-

press the evils of the patriarchal, because it repressed the tyranny by weakening the power of any individual leader. But it had evils of its own, and these of no trivial nature. A baron might in some cases become more powerful than his sovereign, and threaten the safety of his throne. Or there might be a combination of two or three great crown vassals against the royal authority, by which the sovereign was reduced to a mere nullity. Even at the best, as each great lord was a king in his own dominions, he could muster an army of followers dependent upon the soil they held of him in fee, and make war, like an independent sovereign, upon some neighbouring noble with whom he was at feud. Such is the history of Scotland for centuries to come, where chief was at war with chief, and all were jealous of the king.

And here one remarkable distinction between Scottish and English feudalism was broadly established. The Scots were ready to league with their chief against any sovereign whatever, while the English commons heartily rallied for the crown, and against their lords, when the king was menaced by the rebellious spirit of the latter. The cause of this strong attachment of the Scots to their feudal lords, is to be traced to the manner in which the Scottish aristocracy acquired their possessions and power. In England, for instance, the Norman nobility were not merely strangers, but conquerors and usurpers. They had displaced the rulers of Saxon lineage, and taken forcible possession, after which, what they had won by violence and injustice, had to be maintained by the same means. This necessity placed them in a hostile attitude towards those they governed; and hence not only the popular outbreaks of the commons against their lords, but the facility with which the English kings could restrain the overgrown vassals of the crown. In Scotland, however, the case was very different. The founders of its noble families came, not as conquerors, but as fugitives and guests; and the large possessions with which Canmore and his successors endowed them, they held, not for the oppression, but the protection and benefit of those over whom they ruled. Hence the popular influence of the great feudal lords of Scotland, and the success with which they often defied the royal power itself when it was opposed to their interests and wishes. And hence also their exemption from such popular outbursts as the *Jacqueries* of France, in which the peasantry massacred their feudal seignors, or the Jack Straw and Jack Cade insurrections of

England, in which the people sought an equal division of property by the deposition or destruction of their lords. Not only civil, but even national wars also originated in the ramifications of the feudal system. Sometimes the king of one country held land in another, to the sovereign of which he was consequently a vassal, and the misunderstanding that arose about the nature and amount of this homage, was a fruitful source of contention between both. Thus the kings of England were vassals to those of France for the lands they held in Normandy and Aquitaine, while those of Scotland did homage to the English kings for lands held beyond the ancient Scottish border. But this vassalage implied neither degradation nor inferiority, as he who rendered it was often the equal, and sometimes the superior in power and possession to him who received it.

As the spirit of the age, as well as the feudal terms upon which land was held, made a warlike education essential to the Scottish nobility as well as those of other countries, the institution of Chivalry afforded them a thorough training for the duties of their high station. A period of probation was undergone before the young aspirant could receive the honour of knighthood, during which he was taught to speak the truth, to be incapable of fear, to protect the weak, and practise courtesy and devotedness towards the gentler sex. Besides this moral discipline, he was trained in riding, wearing heavy armour, enduring fatigue, and performing those robust exercises that promote strength, nimbleness, and dexterity. When his term of trial had expired, he was led in solemn procession to the church, where his sword was blessed by the priest, and the oaths of chivalry administered; and when the rite was finished, it was by three strokes with the flat of a sword on the right shoulder, accompanied with these words, "In the name of God, St Michael and St George, I make thee a knight: be brave, hardy, and loyal." These were the last blows to which he was to submit without deadly retaliation. During the time of peace, tilts and tournaments were held, at which the knights, completely armed and mounted on strong war-horses, rode in furious career against each other, with lance in rest, as in real battle, and often with fatal effect; and such was the splendour of these military festivals, that they were commonly presided over by kings and princes, while knights repaired to them from every part of Europe. This, however, is rather to be understood of such wealthy countries as France, Burgundy, and England, for, owing perhaps to the poverty of the



country, we hear of few great tournaments in Scotland. The Scots, also, during their conflicts with England for centuries, were too much occupied with the stern realities of war, to have much time or inclination for its mere pageantries.

The weapons of knightly warfare are likewise worthy of notice. About the time of Malcolm Canmore the body was covered with defensive armour, composed of flat rings sewed upon leather, or small lozenge-shaped pieces of iron secured in like manner. In process of time this kind of mail was supplanted by armour of plate, that covered the wearer from head to foot, while the face was protected by a strong barred mask attached to the helmet, called the vizor or ventayle. As it would have been impossible to recognise the wearer so encased, some figure was painted upon his shield, which became his military and family cognisance; and hence the origin of heraldry. The horse was frequently covered with armour also, either in whole or in part, and when thus equipped, it was said to be "barbed." The sword, lance, mace, and battle-axe, with a short sharp dagger for dispatching a fallen enemy, and called the Poinard of Mercy, constituted the offensive arms of chivalry. The knights thus mounted and armed, and attended by their squires and principal followers, almost equally well appointed, were considered to constitute the main strength of an army during the middle ages, until the Swiss and Scottish wars shewed the superiority of a steady infantry. In the tumult of battle, the banner of the high noble, and the pennon or penoncelle of the knight, formed the rallying points of their military retainers, as well as the war-cry common to each leader, which gradually became the heraldic motto of our distinguished families.

In consequence of the variety of races from which the Scottish nation was descended, their weapons, in the first instance, were of a very miscellaneous character. There was the huge two-handed sword or *claymore* of the Celt, the double-bladed battle-axe of the Dane, the feeble bow of four feet long wielded by the men of the northern isles; and there was every kind of defensive armour, from the skin-covered ozier shield of the Albanichs or "wild Scots of Galloway," to the chain and scale habergeon, the strongly hammered cuirass, and steel scull-cap of the better-equipped lowland foot soldier. But the subsequent wars with England, which were chiefly of a defensive character, suggested to the Scots the use of the spear, as the most effective resistance against the formidable charges of the numerous and

splendid English cavalry. This weapon, which was at least eighteen feet in length, became the favourite arm of the country, and the Scots were soon famous over Europe as a nation of gallant unflinching spearmen. On the contrary, the English devoted themselves to the use of the long bow, which was introduced by the Norman conquerors, and by which chiefly the battle of Hastings was decided in their favour. This was a tremendous stave, six feet in length, which few men but an English archer could even bend, and discharging heavy arrows three feet long, with a force and accuracy almost incomprehensible to modern bowyers. Thus an English army was fitted by its archery and cavalry to assail, and a Scottish, by its phalanges, to resist. In the future wars between the two countries, we shall have occasion to mark the competition between the volleys of the cloth-yard shaft and the bristling array of spears.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Edward's plan to obtain Scotland by marriage—Death of the Maiden of Norway—Trial for the succession—Edward summons Baliol to England—Invades Scotland—Takes Berwick—Battle at Dunbar—The Scots swear allegiance to Edward.

A. D. 1286 to A. D. 1297.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*England.* Edward I.—*France,* Philip IV.—*Popes,* Celestine V., Boniface VIII.

THE death of Alexander III. was not only fraught with great immediate political calamities to Scotland, but was destined, even when these had passed away, to influence the history of the nation, and the character of the people, through whole centuries of change, until the Union with England counteracted these evils, and afforded a new development to the national energies.

Scarcely had the royal body been laid in the earth, when the pretensions to the kingly succession gave an ominous warning of the miseries so soon to follow. On account of the extreme youth of Alexander's granddaughter and heiress, the Maiden of Norway, and her remoteness from the scene of action, the most powerful of the competitors for the Scottish crown began already to advance those claims which afterwards rent the country into

factions and deluged it with blood. These elements of dissension were gladly watched in every stage of their progress by Edward I. of England, who, more than any sovereign of his day, combined the perfection of personal valour and military skill with profound but unscrupulous policy. Availing himself of the discords and divisions of the Welsh chieftains, he had reduced the whole of their fair principality to his sway; and he hoped that a similar success awaited him in Scotland, by which the whole island would be rounded into one compact monarchy.

His first approach to the accomplishment of his wishes was apparently justifiable as well as politic. Scotland was not so easy a conquest as Wales, and therefore he calculated to win it, not by arms, but by a matrimonial alliance. He proposed a marriage between the Maiden of Norway and the Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward II, by which the two kingdoms would have been peaceably united under one royal succession. This the chief nobility of Scotland received with great cordiality, because as yet they were almost as much English as Scotch, from their recent migration northward, and their holding land in both kingdoms. Besides this, they were apprehensive of the dangers of a long minority, the evils of a disputed succession, and the consequences of provoking the wrath of a king so powerful as Edward. After considerable negotiation a treaty of marriage between the royal children was concluded, in which Edward agreed to every stipulation in behalf of the liberties of Scotland as an independent kingdom. But his intention to keep these terms inviolate was more than questionable. At the beginning of the treaty he had said triumphantly to his confidential advisers, "The time has come at last when Scotland and its petty kings shall be reduced under my power." All the conditions having been peacefully adjusted, the Maiden set sail from Norway; but when her arrival was anxiously expected both by the English and Scots, as the pledge of peace between them, the mournful tidings came that she had just died at Orkney, having sickened on her passage to Scotland. This fresh national calamity occurred in September 1290, when the princess had only reached her eighth year.

Being thus disappointed of obtaining Scotland by a marriage, Edward resolved to win it by intrigue, or, if necessary, by force. Accordingly, when the competitors for the crown came forward, and when it was found that their number had increased to twelve, (an increase procured by

the artifices of the English king,) the question of a successor became so complicated, that they felt the necessity of selecting him as arbitrator. The condition of his accepting the office was, that they should acknowledge him as Lord Paramount of Scotland; and to this they assented. That he might have power to preserve order during the trial, and enforce obedience to the final decision, he also required that he should be put in temporary possession of the principal strengths of the kingdom; and to this dangerous demand they likewise assented. The hope of a throne had equally blinded them to considerations of personal and national independence. Edward then entered Scotland at the head of a powerful army, to garrison the principal castles, receive and enforce the homage of the people as feudal superior, and study how the country might be most easily subdued in the event of resistance.

The trial for the succession, which commenced at Berwick on the 3d of August 1291, was spun out till the 17th of November in the following year. This delay was what Edward coveted; it taught the Scots his power and resources, and accustomed them to the military occupation of their country. After a long and minute sifting of the numerous claims, it was found that, of the twelve competitors, some were too remotely descended from the royal family, while others were derived from illegitimate branches. At last the choice was narrowed to two; Robert de Bruce, who claimed as the son of Isabel, second daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William the Lion, and John Baliol, grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of the same earl. The final verdict of Edward was, that Baliol's claim was the stronger, and the latter was accordingly put in possession, with the significant warning, to be careful in his government, lest by giving any one cause of complaint he should incur the displeasure of his Lord Paramount. The Scottish castles, twenty in number, occupied by English garrisons, were then surrendered to the new king according to agreement; while to remind him that he was but a vassal sovereign, the Great Seal of Scotland was broken into four pieces, and deposited in the English treasury.

Edward having thus established that claim to the superiority which his predecessors had so often made, resolved that it should not lie inactive. He encouraged Scottish malcontents to appeal from their king to his own tribunal, where the Scottish verdicts were reversed; and when complaints were made of these violations of the treaty he had

ratified, he replied, that he would summon every person, even the king of Scotland himself, to answer in an English court should he judge it necessary so to do. And this was no empty threat. During the minority of Duncan, Earl of Fife, Macduff, his grand-uncle, seized a portion of the lands of the earldom, for which he was sentenced to a short imprisonment. On recovering his liberty, he repaired to England and laid his complaint before Edward, who forthwith summoned Baliol to appear, and answer in person to the charge of Macduff. This was a bitter indignity; but Baliol was pusillanimous as well as weak, and thus the successor of Alexander III. stood before an English parliament to be confronted by a rebellious vassal. As he refused to answer before them without the consent of the Scottish Estates, he was pronounced contumacious in the most insulting terms, and sentenced not only to make full restitution to Macduff, but to have three of his principal castles garrisoned by English soldiers until the terms of the sentence were fulfilled.

It was now evident that Edward intended nothing less than to madden Baliol into revolt, as a pretext for bereaving him of his crown. But at this point he was himself suddenly involved in a feudal war with Philip IV., king of France, commonly surnamed the Fair, of whom he held the duchy of Aquitaine. Certain French ships having been plundered by the English, Edward refused reparation, upon which he was proclaimed contumacious, and summoned to repair to Paris, and answer before his liege lord the king of France. Thus Edward found himself in Baliol's position; but he was no Baliol to endure it tamely; his answer was a renunciation of his allegiance, and a proclamation of war. The patriotic part of the Scottish nobility conceiving the crisis favourable for vindicating the rights of their country, entered into a close alliance with Philip, who promised to aid them with men and money; they also sent the spiritless Baliol into a sort of honourable confinement as an obstacle to their proceedings, pronounced sentence of banishment upon the English lords who held lands in Scotland, and escheated the estates of those Scottish nobles who favoured the cause of Edward. But these proceedings, however necessary in themselves, were represented not merely as party and personal, but also as treasonable measures, and of this discontent Edward resolved to avail himself. Knowing that the country was divided into three factions, two of which adhered to Bruce and Baliol, and were opposed to the patriotic party

headed by John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, he entered Scotland at the head of 30,000 foot, and 5000 heavily armed cavalry. The slight resistance he encountered justified his calculations. He pressed forward to Berwick, a town already so famous for wealth and commerce, as to be called a second Alexandria, but defended only by a strong dyke. The inhabitants refused to surrender, upon which the siege was prosecuted both by land and water. Several ships of the English were destroyed, but the land attack was successful, notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the townsmen. Edward himself was the first who leaped the dyke, and in a few moments the town was at his mercy. A pitiless carnage followed, in which 15,000 Scots of every age, rank, and sex, were put to the sword. During this massacre, which continued for two days, a touching trait of heroic mercantile fidelity was afforded, that might have put the vacillating faith of Scottish knighthood to the blush. A company of thirty Flemish merchants occupied a large building called the Red Hall, on condition of defending it against the English to the last. These brave foreigners refused every summons to surrender, and held out for a whole day against the enemy, upon which the building was set on fire at night, and its defenders to a man perished in the flames.

While Edward remained at Berwick to repair the fortifications, letters came from Baliol, renouncing his homage, and bidding the king of England defiance. "The senseless traitor!" cried the latter scornfully, "what folly he has committed! but since he will not come to us, we will go to him." He then sent the Earl of Surrey to besiege the strong castle of Dunbar, regarded at that time, and long after, as the gate of Scotland against English invasion. The garrison agreed to surrender if not relieved within three days, and their countrymen made every exertion to raise the siege. Forty thousand Scottish foot, and fifteen hundred horse mustered upon the neighbouring hills of Spot; and perceiving what they imagined to be symptoms of disorder among the English ranks that were marching to attack them, they madly abandoned their strong position, and rushed down upon the enemy. They were received by a firm and disciplined array, before which they were broken, routed, and chased off the field in a few minutes with the loss of 10,000 men, after which the castle surrendered. This success was followed by the reduction of the castles of Roxburgh, Jedburgh, Dumbarton, Edinburgh, and Stirling. Edward having thus subdued all opposition, marched in triumph to Perth, to hold the Feast

of the Nativity of John the Baptist, which was celebrated with every circumstance of religious and chivalrous splendour. In the midst of this gay festival, a grey-haired suppliant approached the English encampment; it was John Baliol, king of Scotland, who had come to acknowledge himself guilty of rebellion, and to crave forgiveness of the conqueror. Edward did not vouchsafe to see him, and would only grant pardon on the most humiliating terms. The vassal-king being stript of his royal insignia, was compelled to stand with a white rod in his hand, make a pitiful confession of his manifold errors in government, and resign his crown into the hands of Edward, as his feudal master and lord; and this confession ended, he and his son were sent prisoners to the Tower of London. Bruce, the other competitor, now imagined that his own turn for the succession had arrived, as it was with these hopes that Edward had allured him to his standard in this successful expedition. But on reminding the English king of his promises, the latter answered with a sneer, "Have we no other work but to conquer kingdoms for you?" Having thus shown his intention to keep Scotland for himself, he proceeded to erase every trace of its former national independence. The crown and sceptre which Baliol surrendered, and the stone chair of Scone, on which the kings of Scotland had been crowned since the days of Kenneth Macalpine, were sent as trophies to the cathedral of Westminster, and the national records and monuments were carried off, mutilated, or destroyed. It is chiefly on this account that so much obscurity envelopes the early history of Scotland, and that so large a portion of it has to be derived from the English chronicles. Edward then summoned a parliament to be held at Berwick on the 28th of August, and there, from hope of his favour or fear of his vengeance, the Scottish nobles, knights, and barons, renounced the alliance with France, and subscribed themselves his vassals. The thirty-five skins of parchment filled with these names, are still contained in the English archives, under the title of the Ragman Rolls, and it is from this unfortunate document that the noblest and oldest families of Scotland are enabled to trace their ancestry.

Having thus accomplished, as he imagined, the complete subjugation of Scotland, Edward appointed the Earl of Surrey guardian, Hugh de Cressingham treasurer, and William Ormesby justiciary of the kingdom; after which he repaired to England to make preparations for his war with France. But he had scarcely departed, when a

bold spirit of resistance began to manifest itself in Scotland. A guerilla warfare commenced, in which bands of the English were surprised and cut off, and their garrisons harassed with continual alarms. But all this hardihood on the part of the people, and the occasional success with which it was crowned, would only have insured a more intolerable bondage, had not the MAN appeared whom a country produces but once, and around whom, in the character of its Deliverer, the noblest and brightest of its history is collected.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Character of Sir William Wallace—His early wars with the English—Gains a victory at Stirling—invades England—Defeated at Falkirk—Claims of the Pope to the superiority of Scotland—Victories of the Scots at Roslin—Edward defeats the Scots at Stirling—Apprehension, trial, and execution of Wallace.

A. D. 1297 to A. D. 1305.

### CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1297. Decree of Edward I.—no taxation without consent of Parliament.
- 1299. Turkish empire founded by Othman.
- 1300. Commencement of the Italian school of painting.
- 1302. Discovery of the mariner's compass, supposed at Naples.

SIR WILLIAM WALLACE, the illustrious champion of Scottish liberty, was the second son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, near Paisley, a family of Anglo-Norman origin. He was singularly fitted for the high office to which he was called, by a stature and strength almost gigantic, and a courage which nothing could daunt; a noble and commanding countenance, and a rough popular eloquence: above all, he possessed that intuitive military sagacity which acts like inspiration, and baffles all the experience and skill of veteran tacticians. His education, such as it was, had been conducted by a priest, a kindred spirit with himself, and who instilled into his young mind lessons on the charms of freedom and love of country, until these became his ruling passion, and in which even the love of fame itself seems to have been swallowed up. Such was the man who emerges from the darkest hour of Scottish history like a thing of brightness; soon passing away, indeed, yet never to be forgotten;



leaving behind him a name worth hosts of armed men in the hour of a country's need, and an example at which even cowardice itself becomes brave, and selfishness heroic and generous.

The circumstance that first calls such a spirit into action is of little moment, since its bias is already determined. The commencement of Wallace's career is supposed to have been occasioned by a scuffle at Dundee, in which he slew the son of an English nobleman who insulted, and attempted to maltreat him. This bold deed obliged him to fly to the woods and fastnesses, which his personal prowess often made good against numbers; the fame of his exploits brought men to his side whose condition was as desperate as his own, and with whom he was wont to sally out upon the English bands, or surprise their garrisons; and success soon swelled this little troop into an army, with which Wallace took the open field, and advanced to bolder achievements.

The fame of these exploits soon reached the English court; but Edward, who was preparing to embark for Flanders, regarded them as trivial outbreaks which his troops in Scotland would quickly suppress. The rumours continued to become more frequent of strong castles stormed, and large detachments put to the rout; and Edward, undoubtedly detecting in these the predominance of some dangerous master-spirit, took the alarm, and commanded the Earl of Surrey to muster all his forces, and crush the insurrection at once. Forty thousand foot and three hundred horse completely armed accordingly entered Scotland; but on reaching Lochmaben, they were surprised by Wallace in a furious night attack which they repelled with difficulty. The Scottish army, although inferior in arms and discipline to the English, was almost equal in number, and being drawn up skilfully by Wallace on the bank of a small lake near Irvine, might here have anticipated the victory that awaited them soon after at Stirling. But even already the jealous malignity of the nobles and barons who had repaired to the champion's banner, began to show itself: they scorned his inferiority of birth, they were rebuked by his disinterested patriotism, and they envied the high favour in which he stood with the people. From these sordid motives they deserted him with their followers, and went over to the enemy. Still, Wallace was so popular, that he was at the head of a considerable force, with which he took in succession the castles of Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, and dispossessed the English of nearly all the strong places

which they held on the north side of the Forth. He then laid siege to the castle of Dundee, but on hearing that Surrey and Cressingham were marching against him, he committed the siege to the townsmen, and hurried towards Stirling, to secure the passage of the Forth before the enemy had arrived.

The dispositions which Wallace made for the approaching conflict were selected with admirable skill. He drew up his army, consisting of forty thousand foot, and a hundred and eighty horse, upon the rising ground on the Forth above Cambuskenneth, taking care to conceal their numbers, that the English might be tempted to cross the river. As this could only be done by a narrow wooden bridge along which not more than two men could pass abreast, the cautious Surrey demurred at the danger, and tried the effect of negotiation; but Wallace defied him to his beard, and challenged him to come and do his worst. The earl was still farther stung by the reproaches of Cressingham the treasurer, who was second in command, and who accused Surrey of needless delay to the waste of the king's money. Goaded by these charges, the earl gave consent for battle, and the English headed by Cressingham and Sir Marmaduke Twenge commenced the dangerous passage. Wallace remained immovable until half of the enemy had crossed; then securing the bridge, he rushed down upon them before they had time to form, charged their irregular masses, and scattered them at every point after a brief resistance. The banks were covered with the dead and wounded, and the river choaked with drowning fugitives; Cressingham himself was killed, and Twenge only escaped by cutting his way through the Scots, and clearing the barrier of the bridge on his good war-horse. While Surrey was gazing from the opposite side upon the destruction of his forces, without power to aid them, his panic-struck soldiers burnt the bridge to prevent pursuit and betook themselves to flight; but the Scots who crossed the river by a ford, followed hard upon the chace, and slaughtered the fugitives in heaps. Smarting under their many injuries, they gave little quarter, and as for Cressingham, he was so hated for his exactions, that they flayed his dead body, after treating it with every indignity. The pursuit was continued as far as Berwick, of which the Scots took possession; and soon after the castles of Edinburgh, Dundee, and Roxburgh surrendered, so that not a fortress in Scotland remained in the hands of the English.

After these signal successes, Wallace, by the choice of

the people, was elected to the guardianship of Scotland in behalf of the dethroned Baliol, an appointment by no means calculated to soothe the offended pride of the nobility. A severe famine ensued, as during these wars the greater part of the land had remained untilled, upon which the new guardian resolved to lighten its pressure by quartering a large portion of the population upon the rich resources of England. He therefore issued orders for every county, barony, town, and village, to send to his standard a certain proportion of its fighting men, in arms, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and as these musters were impeded by the nobles, the mandate was accompanied with gibbets, which were set up at those places where the levies were made. He was soon at the head of a numerous army, with which he entered the northern counties of England, carrying such terrors before him that the inhabitants fled into the interior, or took refuge in the strong town of Newcastle. After subsisting his numerous followers during four weeks at the enemy's expense, he was obliged to retreat on account of the severity of the winter. On his return, he halted at the monastery of Hexham, where he found only three panic-stricken monks, one of whom he desired to celebrate mass. The trembling priest obeyed; but while Wallace retired, previous to the elevation of the host, to lay aside his helmet and weapons, his wild followers began to rifle the chapel. He returned in the midst of the uproar, and sent the plunderers to instant execution. "My soldiers," he said to the monks in excuse, "are evil-disposed men; I cannot justify them, and I may not punish them: remain with me, otherwise I cannot protect you." He then drew out a charter of protection, admitting the monks of Hexham and their monastery to the peace of the Scottish king, which interesting document, dated 8th November 1297, is still extant.

On his return to Scotland, Wallace commenced a vigorous reformation of the political abuses that had crept into the country, and made wise regulations for its defence against future invasions. But in the midst of these cares, Edward hurried from Flanders, in consequence of the tidings of the overthrow at Stirling, and the entire loss of Scotland. Enraged at finding that his labours must be renewed, he ordered all the forces of England and Wales to meet him at York; and having gratified his nobles by large concessions in the Forest Laws, he was enabled to muster an army of a hundred thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, half

of which were completely armed. Wallace knew that to meet such a force in the open field would have been utter madness, thwarted as he was by the nobles, and justly apprehensive of their treachery : he therefore resolved to fall back, after garrisoning the principal castles, that the advance of the English might be delayed, and to lay waste the country in their march, so as to starve them into a retreat, during which their rear might be assailed with advantage. This admirable plan would probably have soon been successful. Edward advanced as far as Kirkliston without finding an enemy to conquer ; his troops traversing a wasted country were famished and exhausted, while his fleet, which was appointed to enter the Frith of Forth with supplies, was retarded by contrary winds. Under these circumstances, Edward was about to commence a retreat, when two treacherous Scottish lords sent him intelligence, that Wallace was encamped in the forest of Falkirk, waiting the departure of the English, to make a night attack upon them during the confusion. "They shall not need to follow me," cried Edward exultingly, when he heard where his enemies were to be found ; "I shall forthwith go and meet them." On the following morning, which was the 22d of July (1298), Edward came up with the Scots in the neighbourhood of Falkirk. They scarcely exceeded thirty thousand men, yet the advance of the English had been so rapid and unexpected, that Wallace was compelled to abide the unequal conflict. He therefore drew up his soldiers on a field abounding with loose stones on the side of a small eminence, having a morass in front. His infantry were arranged in four compact circular bodies, called *shiltrons*, of which the front rank knelt presenting their spears horizontally, while those of the inner ranks rose, tier after tier, like the bristles of an angry hedge-hog. In the spaces behind these shiltrons, were placed the few archers from Selkirk Forest, under the command of Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, while the cavalry, amounting only to a thousand, under the doubtful leading of the discontented nobles, were posted in the rear to support the infantry. Having thus done all that prudence and skill could accomplish, he addressed his soldiers with the short and pithy exhortation, "I have brought you to the ring, dance as ye best can."

The battle commenced by a charge of the first line of the English cavalry led by Bigot the Earl Marshall, and the Earls of Hereford and Lincoln, but their career was suddenly interrupted by the morass in front of the Scottish

army. The second followed under the command of Anthony Beck, the warlike bishop of Durham, and Sir Ralph Basset of Drayton. The prelate, aware of the dangerous nature of the ground, was cautiously inclining eastward to avoid the bog, when the impatient Basset exclaimed, "To thy mass, bishop, to thy mass, and do not teach us what to do in front of an enemy!" "Set on, then, in your own way," replied Beck, and with this permission the second line floundered right through the morass, and were soon joined by the first line. They formed, and charged the Scots with loose rein and couched lances; but the shiltrons stood like rocks amidst a storm, while horse and rider went down at every onset before the dense forest of spears. His cavalry, in which he had placed such confidence, being thus baffled, Edward threw forward his numerous archers, to whose unerring aim the opposite masses presented such a broad mark, that scarcely an arrow flew in vain. The Scottish cavalry fled from the field without striking a blow; Stewart was thrown from his horse, and his gallant foresters fell to a man in vainly endeavouring to defend him. Still, in spite of these disasters by which the Scottish infantry were uncovered, they continued their stubborn resistance; but the showers of arrows thinned their ranks, the slingers plying both sling and catapult battered them with large stones with which the ground was covered, as if they had been storming walls and ramparts; and when the shiltrons were thus torn into fragments, the English horse dashed through the openings, and made further resistance hopeless. Half of the Scottish army were destroyed; the rest escaped into a neighbouring wood, their retreat being covered by Wallace. In addition to the loss his country had sustained, and the darkness of its prospects, his affectionate heart was wrung by the loss of his heroic friend and companion-in-arms, Sir John the Graham, who fell fighting by his side.

It might have been thought that this battle would have proved an instant death-blow to the precarious liberty of Scotland. But the wise precautions which Wallace had adopted were still so effectual, that Edward, although victorious, could find no subsistence for his army, and the only fruit of his success was an unmolested retreat. In fact, no sooner had Edward reached Durham, than he learned that the Scots were again in arms. But the heaviest blow inflicted upon Scotland by the battle of Falkirk, was the loss of the public services of Wallace, who seeing the impossibility of securing the co-operation of the nobles, voluntarily

resigned the guardianship. After this, a regency was chosen, consisting of John Comyn, Earl of Badenoch, and John de Soulis, to whom were afterwards added Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, and William Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews.

Edward, although bent on following his success by a complete conquest of Scotland, was again impeded by the discontent of his nobles. He had promised them immunities when their aid was necessary, and violated these promises when the danger was over; and as they refused on this account to join him with their followers, his preparations for an invasion in 1299 proved inadequate. But in the following year, he crossed the border with an army which the Scots were unable to resist. In this case they had recourse to the wise policy of Wallace, by laying waste the country as the English advanced, so that five months were spent by Edward in this expedition without any important result. At the end of that period, he was obliged suddenly to grant a truce, and hasten to London, in consequence of a new rival for the sovereignty of Scotland, who had entered the lists against him. This was no other than Pope Boniface, who asserted that the claims of the King of England were null, for that Scotland was a fief of the See of Rome, and had been so from time immemorial. This astounding claim, probably suggested by the Scots themselves, in the hope of creating a diversion in their favour, was put forth in a Bull, and Edward was at the same time warned, that if he resisted or demurred, Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and Mount Zion her worshippers. The king, on receiving this strange message, swore in a fury, that neither for Zion nor Jerusalem would he turn back as long as there was breath in his nostrils. Aware, however, of the danger of quarrelling with a pope, he lowered his tone, and laid the matter before his Parliament. There the arrogant claims of the pontiff were condemned, and the king was declared to be, in temporal affairs, entirely independent of the papal authority. To this bold reply, sent to the pope in writing, and attested by a hundred and four seals of the nobility, was attached the emphatic declaration, that they would not permit their king either to perform or attempt such strange and unheard of things, even if he were willing so completely to forget his own rights and privileges.

Having thus persuaded, or at least silenced the pontiff, Edward again took the field, and entered Scotland with a

large army. Still, however, the Scots shunned an engagement, so that nothing was accomplished. A short truce, as usual, followed, and on its expiration Edward sent into Scotland twenty thousand soldiers, chiefly cavalry, commanded by Sir John de Segrave, and accompanied by some of the bravest of the English nobles. Segrave marched towards Edinburgh, until he reached Roslin, where he encamped his army in three divisions, widely separated from each other, as if no attack was to be apprehended. But Comyn of Badenoch and Sir Simon Fraser having collected eight thousand horse, effected a rapid night march from Biggar, and on the morning of the 24th of February (1302) made a sudden onset on the first division of the enemy. The resistance was fierce but short; the English were put completely to the rout, and Segrave himself was wounded and taken prisoner. The fugitives carried the alarm to the second division, which advanced to retrieve the day. The Scots, who were gathering the spoil, prepared anew for action, and slew all their prisoners, lest they should turn upon them in the heat of conflict. Their boldness was crowned with a second victory as decisive as the first. This battle had scarcely ended, when the third division made its appearance, increased by the remains of the two former. The Scots, exhausted by their night march and encounters, and diminished in numbers, would have retreated; but for this there was no opportunity. They therefore had again recourse to the cruel, but necessary, expedient of putting their prisoners to the sword, and exhorting each other, they firmly awaited the onset. After a desperate conflict they were again successful, thus achieving three victories in one day. So complete were these discomfitures, that out of a large and well appointed army only a few stragglers reached England in safety.

But even a courage so high and devoted as this was unavailing, in consequence of the intrigues of Edward. In concluding a peace with Philip of France, he induced that selfish monarch to abandon the interests of the Scots; and by his representations and bribes at the papal court, he so wrought upon the pope that the latter sent a bull to the Scottish bishops, enjoining their submission to Edward, his "dearest son in Christ," and menacing them with severe punishment in the event of refusal. Thus while the Scots were bereaved of all prospect of aid, and had their resistance denounced as an unholy rebellion, Edward was enabled to bring all his resources against them, and pursue the work

of vengeance unchecked. After the defeat at Roslin, he swore that he would either reduce the Scots to utter bondage, or turn their country into a wilderness fit only for the beasts of the field to dwell in ; and, in furtherance of his threat, he crossed the border with such an army as made resistance hopeless. To spread the work of destruction more widely he divided his army into two, one of which divisions, commanded by his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, entered Scotland by the western border, while the other, headed by himself, crossed it at the eastern. The march of the English king was a vast highway of havoc, massacre, and desolation ; the richest districts were turned into deserts ; and such was the terrible inundation of fire and sword, that no place offered any resistance but the castle of Brechin, which Edward took after a siege of twenty days. He then marched towards Stirling, to save the strong castle of which ancient town, Comyn made a last effort, by drawing up some hastily raised forces upon the same ground on the banks of the Forth which Wallace had formerly occupied. But the skilful head and brave heart of the champion were no longer there. Edward in his fury would have crossed the wooden bridge, and thus perhaps have fallen into the trap in which Cressingham had perished ; but Comyn rashly destroyed the bridge, and thus forced the king to cross by a ford, which he accomplished in safety with all his cavalry. The battle that followed was little more than a rout and a massacre ; after which nothing remained for the Scots but submission, which they rendered with stern and sullen reluctance. Edward received the chiefs to mercy, with the exception of some who were reserved for vengeance, the principal of whom was Sir William Wallace. The latter was told indeed that if he thought proper to surrender, it must be unconditionally,—an intimation equivalent to a sentence of death at the hands of the merciless Edward.

We have already seen the submissiveness with which the hero of Scotland descended into private life, after the unfortunate battle of Falkirk. It is difficult to trace the events of his subsequent career ; but we may safely conclude, that it was not useless to the cause and the country which he loved so well. Early traditions represent him as still continuing, at the head of a few followers, that private warfare against the English with which his course commenced ; and from the high price which Edward set upon his head, it may be inferred that this resistance was neither trivial nor unsuccessful. It has also been ascertained that





Wallace visited France, probably in the hope of inducing king Philip once more to interpose in behalf of his faithful allies the Scots. Edward, finding that Scotland could never be considered as conquered while her champion lived, redoubled every effort to apprehend him ; and, at last, a Scotsman was found base enough to betray him, either in a spirit of revenge or from the love of gain. This was Sir John Menteith, a name thenceforth synonymous with treachery, and which will be mentioned with loathing as long as Scotland exists. Through the arrangements of this man, Wallace was apprehended in bed at Robroyston, near Glasgow, on the 5th of August (1305) and sent to London heavily fettered, and under a strong escort. He was brought to Westminster for trial, crowned in derision with laurel, and accused of treason against the king of England. "Traitor was I never," replied Wallace indignantly ; and he proceeded to shew the absurdity of the charge, as he had never sworn fealty to Edward, nor owed him allegiance. As for the other charges of having burnt villages, stormed castles, and slain many Englishmen, he acknowledged their truth, and justified his conduct in so doing. He was sentenced to die the death of a traitor, and executed on the 23d of August 1305, by hanging and decapitation, after which, in terms of the sentence, his head was placed over London Bridge, and his severed limbs distributed for exposure at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. Such was the death of a great national hero, whose name was thenceforth all but sainted in the hearts of his countrymen. Through every age, even to the present day, it has possessed a trumpet-like power to awaken the patriotism and nerve the courage of Scotland : it was heard alike on the field of Bannockburn, and the plains of Waterloo. And who can tell the mastery which it may even yet be destined to exercise upon the future ; the great deeds it may inspire, and the national deliverances it may accomplish !

## CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1305, to A. D. 1307.

Robert Bruce—His early character and proceedings—He murders Comyn—Is crowned at Scone—Defeated at Methven—His wanderings and sufferings—He lands in Carrick—His first successes—Battle of Loudon Hill—Death of Edward I.

If Edward hoped by the destruction of Wallace to quell the Scots into submission, he was doomed to a miserable disappointment. The execution of their good and gallant liberator so incensed the people, that they would rather endure any extremity than yield to the tyrant who had destroyed him; while the desire of revenge, at that time regarded as a sacred duty, was added to their love of freedom. In this state, they only waited for a leader, and a leader they soon found; one cast in the mould of their favourite hero, and fitted to accomplish what the latter had so nobly began. This was the youthful Robert Bruce, grandson of Baliol's competitor, and heir of the family claims to the crown of Scotland. Endowed with Wallace's personal valour, military skill, and attractive qualities, he was such a leader as a people spontaneously select and gladly follow in the hour of danger; while his illustrious descent and high rank exempted him from that odium on the part of the nobility, through which the efforts of Wallace had been so often impeded, and at last so fatally paralysed.

A life so eventful as that of Robert Bruce, and so distinguished by romantic deeds, originated in an equally romantic incident. His father, the lord of Cleveland and Annandale, a gallant crusader, distinguished for personal beauty and noble demeanour, was one day riding through the domains of Turnberry, when the widowed Countess of Carrick with a large hunting train happened to pass by. She saw and admired the handsome stranger, and resolving to win him for a husband, she surrounded him with her attendants, seized his bridle with her own hands, and carried him off a prisoner to her castle of Turnberry. As the countess was a royal ward, and therefore dependant upon the choice of her sovereign Alexander III. in the disposal of her hand and fortune, Bruce demurred to the pro-

posed union ; but after fifteen days of gentle bondage, he yielded, and became her husband. The king, incensed at this breach of feudal duty, seized the castle and estates of the countess, but afterwards released them upon payment of a heavy fine ; and by this strange marriage the lord of Annandale and Cleveland became earl of Carrick, and father of the Scottish king.

The early youth of Robert Bruce gave little promise of that high character by which he was afterwards distinguished, being marked by considerable indecision, and not a little selfishness. He had joined Wallace and forsaken him ; he had sworn allegiance to Edward with the firm resolution of breaking his oath. Yielding to the fluctuations of that unsettled period, interest and expediency became his rules of conduct, and he seems to have sided by turns with either party, according as the movement might be gainful or safe. But the same unseen hand that conveyed Alfred from a palace to the marshes of Athelney and the cottage of a swine-herd, that there he might learn wisdom, and make his country great as well as free, was about to fit Bruce for a similar task by the same course of training. Great indeed was the change that needed to be wrought upon a heart so constituted, and which could only be effected by the "sweet uses of adversity."

If anything could justify the vacillation of young Bruce, and his jealousy of Sir William Wallace, perhaps it might be found in the fact, that the Guardian of Scotland held and exercised his office in the name and behalf of John Baliol as king, for whom Bruce, as the heir of the rival house, could entertain little sympathy. But after the execution of the champion, by which the cause of Baliol was rendered hopeless, the occasion seemed ripe for the pretensions of the other party. Baliol was a prisoner, his son a minor, and no one stood between young Robert and the throne but John Comyn, earl of Badenoch, commonly called the Red Comyn, who in right of his mother, Marjory, sister of Baliol, was held entitled to the royal claims of the latter. Bruce is said to have made the following proposal to Comyn : "Support my claim to the crown, and I will give you my patrimony ; or give me your estates, and I will support your claim." This was certainly a cool family compact in which the nation was little regarded. Comyn agreed to waive his own rights on receiving his rival's earldom, but during the negotiation he betrayed the whole affair to the English king. Bruce, who was in London, would soon have been a prisoner in the

Tower, through this breach of confidence, had it not been for the affection of his kinsman, the earl of Gloucester, who warned him of Edward's purposes. In an instant Bruce was on horseback, and on his way to Scotland; and upon the border, he found a messenger of Comyn, carrying letters to the king of England, unfolding the terms of the late compact, and advising that his rival should be put out of the way. Enraged at this instance of treachery, Bruce with a few friends hastened to Dumfries, and repaired to the convent of the Minorite Friars where Comyn resided, with whom he requested a private interview. The meeting took place in the chapel, and before they had reached the high altar a fierce altercation ensued. Bruce charged his rival with treachery, the other exclaimed "You lie!" upon which Bruce in a sudden fit of rage laid Comyn at his feet with a thrust of his dagger, and fled from the sacred building. When he appeared at the porch haggard and breathless, his anxious friends asked him the cause, to whom he replied, "I doubt I have slain Comyn!" "You doubt it?" cried Kirkpatrick, one of his followers, "I mak sickar" (make secure), and entering the church, he not only dispatched the wounded man who was lying bleeding upon the steps of the altar, but also Sir Robert Comyn, his uncle, who had come to his rescue.

The situation of Bruce was now perilous in the extreme. By this rash deed he had defied the authority of Edward, incurred the deadly feud of the powerful family of Comyn, and provoked the fullest censures of the church, at which the mightiest kings and emperors trembled. There was no longer room for hesitation or wavering, and therefore he took the field against Edward, at the head of only two earls and fourteen barons. His first step was to repair to Scone to be crowned; and there, on the 27th of March (1306), only seven months after the execution of Wallace, the rite was hastily performed; a slight circle of gold taken from the image of a saint was placed upon his head, instead of the royal crown, while he was set on the throne by the Countess of Fife, her husband, to whom the office hereditarily belonged, being now in the interest of England.

The astonishment of Edward at these unexpected proceedings was only equalled by his rage. Though the most politic of European kings, he was thus outwitted by a strippling, and he had stained his old age by the murder of Wallace, only to raise up one more formidable in his stead. Worn out more by toil than years, he must yet again resume

his arms, and subdue these obstinate Scots. But Edward was not of a temper to allow any surprise, however startling, to hinder him from action, and he girt himself to the task of fresh conquest with all the alacrity of his youth. In his preparations for a campaign, which was to be his last and most decisive, he held a solemn chivalrous festival at Westminster on the Feast of Pentecost, at which the Prince of Wales and three hundred nobly-descended young squires received the honour of knighthood. At the rich banquet which followed, two swans surrounded with net-work of gold were placed upon the board, and the king rising, made a solemn vow to God and the swans, that he would forthwith proceed to Scotland and punish the treachery of its people, after which he would repair to the holy war, and die in Palestine. His zeal on this occasion was seconded by the liberal contributions of the clergy and merchants, so that a large army was sent to Scotland ; and in this expedition, the young Prince of Wales performed his noviciate in arms, by deeds of wanton havoc and cruelty of which even his father was ashamed.

In the mean time the trials of Bruce had commenced. Having attacked Perth, which was strongly garrisoned by Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, the young king invited the earl in chivalrous fashion to leave the protection of wall and rampart, and fight him in the open field. The challenge was accepted ; Sir Aymer promised to give fair battle on the morrow, and relying on this pledge, Bruce withdrew to the wood of Methven, where he encamped in full security, without sentinel or outpost. But at evening, Pembroke sallied out upon the Scots, who were so taken at unawares, that they had scarcely time to snatch up their arms. A total rout was the consequence, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of Bruce, who was thrice unhorsed, and all but taken prisoner. He effected a retreat into the wilds of Athol, but some of his best friends were taken, several of whom were hanged and quartered by the orders of Edward. After this defeat, the fugitives wandered among the dreary fastnesses of Breadalbane, accompanied by their wives, who had joined them, among whom was Robert's queen, their only subsistence being roots and berries, with the casual resources of hunting and fishing. Wherever they turned, they found an enemy awaiting them, and upon the borders of the territory of the Lord of Lorn, they were suddenly assailed by that fierce chief, who had married an aunt of the murdered Comyn. The attack was

made by the light-armed mountaineers in a narrow pass, where the horses and arms of Bruce's followers were only an encumbrance ; and the small party was extricated with difficulty, and after severe loss, by their gallant leader, who placed himself in the rear and slew three of the most forward of the enemy with his own hand.

Amidst such continued dangers and privations, they found it necessary to part with their wives, who had hitherto soothed them in their wanderings. Accordingly, they were sent under a strong escort commanded by Nigel Bruce, the youngest brother of Robert, to the castle of Kildrummie, the king and his knights parting with their horses for the accommodation of the ladies and their guards. The wanderers resumed their lonely pilgrimage on foot, a gaunt hunger-worn band, with shoes and apparel nearly worn out, or rudely repaired with the skins of animals slain in the chase. It was amidst these dreary sufferings and privations, that the heroic character of Bruce shone out in its brightest lustre. Independently of the feats of daring, and personal prowess, with which he often astonished both friend and enemy, while defending his followers or securing their safety, he cheered them with the tales and romances of his early reading, and, from the example of good knights in the olden time, encouraged them to bear their hardships cheerfully, and look forward with hope.

While Bruce and his little party were thus shifting from place to place, the fate of his other adherents was, if possible, more pitiable still. The castle of Kildrummie was stormed by the English, and the brave and beautiful Nigel Bruce, its young commander, was executed as a traitor, being first hanged, and afterwards beheaded. The queen, and her young daughter Marjory, who had previously taken refuge in a sanctuary, were delivered up to Edward, by whom they were thrown into prison ; and as for the Countess of Buchan, who had seated Bruce upon the throne, she was immured for four years in a strong cage of iron bars and wood, upon one of the outer turrets of Berwick Castle, where she was exposed to the mockery of all who passed by. Mary and Christina, the sisters of Bruce, also fell into the hands of Edward, the former of whom was imprisoned in a cage similar to that of the Countess of Buchan, and the latter confined in a convent. While the noblest of Scotland's daughters were thus made a scorn and a gazing-stock, the axe and the cord were busy with the best of her sons. The frightful list of victims is too long for rehearsal, and we can

only mention two, the Earl of Athol and Sir Simon Fraser. The former being a kinsman of Edward himself, intercession was made to spare him the indignity of a public execution; but the king swore that the royal blood of the culprit should only procure him a higher gallows. The earl accordingly was hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high. Fraser, to whose exertions the threefold victory at Roslin had been mainly owing, was a brave soldier of Wallace; and like Wallace he was carried to London heavily ironed, crowned in derision with a garland during a mock trial, and subjected to a traitor's death, after which his head was exposed upon London bridge, beside that of his heroic commander. Having thus bereaved the Bruce of his dearest friends and best supporters, Edward proceeded to the full measure of revenge, by bestowing his castles and lands upon others, and by procuring from Rome a sentence of excommunication, which was thundered at Carlisle against the slayer of Comyn, with all the ghostly pomp of a papal condemnation.

In the mean time, the hero upon whose head so many calamities had been heaped, and against whom not only earth but also heaven seemed now to be closed, had passed over to Ireland at the approach of winter, and taken shelter in the solitary island of Rachrin. Here his concealment was so complete, that it was thought for some time both by his friends and enemies that he was dead. On the return of spring, having received a supply of money from Christina of the Isles, he resolved to strike once more for the liberty of Scotland and his own rights. In pursuance of this purpose, he sent before him the brave Sir James Douglas, affectionately commemorated to after ages under the title of "the good Lord James," who landed at Arran, and surprised a rich convoy of arms, clothing, and provisions, which were of great service to Bruce and his party, who soon after followed in thirty-three small galleys. A consultation was then held, in which they resolved to cross over to the opposite coast of Carrick; and as it was necessary to ascertain the state of the district, a trusty follower was sent before them, who, if he found the people well affected to their cause, was to light a fire at an appointed time upon a certain height near the castle of Turnberry. This emissary found the state of affairs most unfavourable for a landing, as Lord Pereie, with a garrison of three hundred men occupied the castle, while the country people were either subdued, or indifferent to the cause of freedom. When he had made these observations, and was in the act of returning, he was dismayed

by the appearance of a blaze of light from the appointed eminence, kindled he knew not how or by whom. He hastened to the landing-place to prevent the embarkation; but Bruce had already arrived. He had seen the beacon-light from the opposite shore and instantly set sail. On learning the state of the district, and that he had been deceived by a false signal, he would have returned, had it not been for the fierce remonstrances of his impetuous brother Edward, who was already tired of wandering, and who swore, that rather than turn back, he would maintain his ground single-handed against all the chivalry of England. Such a decision turned the scale where there were so many kindred spirits to applaud it, and Bruce found it necessary to proceed to instant action. This he did by a night attack upon the straggling hamlet of Turnberry where many of the English soldiers were quartered, whom he put to the sword, while their friends in the castle being ignorant of the cause of the uproar, were afraid of venturing to their assistance.

This mysterious beacon-light was the morning star of the liberty of Scotland. Bruce by his midnight onslaught upon Turnberry, had not only won good store of war-horses and armour, but also his own family plate, which could be coined into stout soldiers. The sudden reappearance also of one whom the English garrisons had believed to be dead, made them tremble within the shelter of their strongholds. A short time after the landing of Bruce, Sir James Douglas surprised his own castle of Douglas, held by Lord Clifford, upon whom king Edward had bestowed it. This capture was effected on Palm Sunday (1307), when, the English soldiers being in the neighbouring church of St Bryde, Douglas and his followers disguised, mingled themselves with the enemy, and suddenly raised their war-cry. The English thus unexpectedly assaulted were soon overpowered, after which Douglas seized the castle. He then gathered the provisions with which it was victualled into a heap, staved the casks of wine and ale upon it, murdered the prisoners whom he had taken and threw their bodies upon the pile, and afterwards set the whole, with the castle itself on fire. This hideous holocaust, which in the savage humour of the day was accounted a good practical joke, was called the Douglas Larder.

These first advantages to the cause of Bruce were followed by a serious reverse. His brothers, Thomas and Alexander, who had been sent to Ireland to collect reinforcements, and had returned with seven hundred followers, were attacked



in Galloway, near Loch Ryan, where they landed, by Macdowal, one of the principal chiefs of that wild country, who slew the greater part of their forces, and took the two brothers prisoners. They were delivered wounded and almost dead to king Edward, who ordered them to instant execution. On account of this loss, Bruce was once more compelled to become a wanderer, and find shelter among the fastnesses of Carrick, with the wild Scots of Galloway pressing on his tract. It was while he was pursued by these merciless enemies, that a romantic adventure befel him. He had only sixty wearied soldiers in his company, and was on the point of being overtaken by more than two hundred light-heeled Gallowegians, who had brought blood-hounds with them. In this emergency, he posted his followers at midnight behind a rivulet, and took his station at the ford, where only one man could pass at a time. The yell of the blood-hounds came nearer, the dark shadows of moving masses approached, upon which he sent two attendants who had remained with him, to bring up his soldiers, resolving to maintain the ford single-handed till their arrival. The men of Galloway, who were on horseback, plunged into the stream; but as each successively approached, he was transfixed before he could land, by a thrust of the king's spear. Four were thus slain, their bodies and those of their horses were beginning to choak up the passage, when others enraged at this resistance of one man, dashed into the water, but only to encounter a similar fate. The soldiers of Bruce now came up, and their loud shouts scared away the Gallowegians, after they had lost fourteen men in this singular night encounter.

The dangers of Bruce were not yet ended. The Earl of Pembroke, who had a considerable force of English under him, as well as eight hundred Highlanders commanded by the Lord of Lorn, imagined that Bruce, who had only four hundred men, might now be crushed with ease. And such would have been the case, had not the latter been by this time so completely inured to the emergencies of partisan warfare. After sustaining the shock of so unequal an encounter as long as he could, he divided his little force into three parties, and appointing a place of rendezvous, made them retreat in three different directions. But Lorn had brought a blood-hound with him which had once belonged to the Bruce, and the faithful animal pertinaciously following the tract of his old master, betrayed the direction by which he fled. The mountaineers were close

upon him, so that he once more threw off his party in different directions, and afterwards a third time repeated the experiment, until he was left with only one attendant. He was soon within sight of the pursuers, and Lorn sent five of his swiftest followers to kill him or take him prisoner, but Bruce felled them successively to the earth as they approached. The chase continued until Bruce arrived at a rivulet: he threw himself into it, waded a considerable way up the stream, and then made for a neighbouring wood, in which he could lurk concealed. The blood-hound, on reaching the rivulet, was unable to trace him further, and the disappointed Lord of Lorn was obliged to withdraw with his followers.

Having thus endured such a night of affliction so nobly, the time was come for the morning dawn and the day of brightness. While the enemy thought that the followers of Bruce were utterly dispersed or destroyed, and had sunk again into security, he suddenly turned upon them, and roused them from their slumbers. He had again collected a faithful band, with which he made an unexpected attack upon Pembroke's outposts, and slew two hundred of their number. Soon afterwards he routed that earl at Glentruel, and compelled him to retreat to Carlisle. The cause of Bruce was thus so strengthened, that he was able to descend into the low country; and while he succeeded in reducing the districts of Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham to obedience, Sir James Douglas defeated Sir Philip Mowbray, and chased him into the castle of Innerkip. Alarmed at these successes, the Earl of Pembroke hastily returned to Scotland, and at the head of three thousand horse marched into Ayrshire, where he found the insurgents encamped upon Loudon Hill. Although Bruce had little more than six hundred soldiers, and these consisting only of foot, yet he resolved to abide an open encounter. His arrangements in choosing and fortifying his ground were almost those of Bannockburn in miniature, and attended with the same success. The English came on in two divisions, and charged the compact body of spearmen with their usual confidence; but the rampart of spears was unshaken, while the steel-clad cavaliers were pierced through shield and cuirass, and hurled from their saddles. The first division was soon driven back upon the second, and while they were mixed in confusion, the Scots advanced upon them with such order and rapidity that the English fell into a panic and betook themselves to flight. Only three days after this victory, Bruce gained another over Sir Ralph Monthermer, Earl of Gloucester,

whom he routed with great slaughter, and compelled to take refuge in the castle of Ayr.

An event now occurred more favourable to Bruce than the most signal victory could have been. This was the death of his formidable antagonist Edward I., which took place at the little village of Burgh-upon-Sands, on the 7th of July 1307. No sooner had Edward heard of the reappearance of Bruce, and the success of his arms, than he ordered a military muster at Carlisle, and although he was so enfeebled by premature old age and disease, that he had to be carried in a litter, yet he resolved to attend the expedition into Scotland in person. The iron will and fierce purpose of the indomitable conqueror seemed to animate him with new strength, so that when he reached Carlisle, he forsook his litter, which he offered up in the cathedral, and mounted his war-horse. But this was only the last feverish effort of a dying man, and when he reached the village of Burgh-upon-Sands, he laid him down upon his deathbed. It would be fearful to conjecture what may have been the feelings of his last moments. His eyes were closing within sight of that Scotland which he had converted into a wilderness and deluged with blood. From the friendly relations between the two kingdoms during the earlier part of his reign, it seemed as if, in the course of events, a spontaneous affectionate union must have taken place between them, so that they would have peacefully subsided into one nation. But by his fierce ambition to precipitate so desirable a result, he had only roused suspicion, provoked resistance, and sown the seeds of bitter rivalry and hate between the English and the Scots which whole centuries would scarcely suffice to eradicate. And now, with a successful hero in the field, at the head of a people animated for resistance, what probability was there that a youth so frivolous and effeminate as the Prince of Wales, would accomplish a conquest in which himself had so signally failed? These were dismal forebodings; but still the relentless old man could not abandon the darling project of his life. Calling his son and chief barons to his bedside, he made them swear, that as soon as he died, they would boil his body in a cauldron until the flesh was separated from the bones, carry the skeleton with them into Scotland, and keep it unburied until the country was wholly subdued. He also commanded that his heart should be taken to Jerusalem, for the delivery of which he had so bravely warred in his earlier days against the infidels of the East. Amidst this

strange medley of devotion, ambition, and revenge, Edward I., the deadliest and most dreaded enemy of Scotland, breathed his last.

## CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1307 to A. D. 1314.

Edward II. prosecutes the War—Bruce's Successes—Siege of Stirling Castle—Battle of Bannockburn.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*King of England.*  
Edward II.

*King of France.*  
Philip IV.

*Pope.*  
Clement V.

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

1307. The Swiss Cantons established.

1308. The Papal Seat transferred to Avignon for seventy years.

1312. The Knights-Templars cruelly suppressed by Philip of France.

ALTHOUGH Edward II., who now succeeded to the crown of England in his twenty-fourth year, had so solemnly pledged himself to the conquest of Scotland, he was in no haste to fulfil his vow. The first indication of his backwardness, was the royal burial which he bestowed upon the body of his father at Westminster, instead of subjecting it to the process of the cauldron. He made a military promenade through Scotland as far as the borders of Ayrshire, and then hurried back to London, to enjoy the society of his worthless favourites. In the mean time, the northern war was continued, wherein every circumstance was favourable to the Bruce. On one occasion, when some of that hero's advanced posts were driven in, and ruin threatened his main body, at old Meldrum, he sprang from his litter to which he had been confined by sickness, through the hardships he had undergone, called for his arms and war-horse, and supported by a man on each side, led his soldiers so gallantly to the charge, that the enemy were routed and chased to the borders of Buchan.

In consequence of these repeated successes of Bruce, Edward II. at length began to bestir himself, and sent down orders to his officers in Scotland for a vigorous prosecution of the war. But the king of Scots pressed onward his operations so boldly, that the town of Aberdeen and the castle of Forfar were speedily taken. His brother Edward also, whom he sent into Galloway to reduce that wild

district, defeated the united Gallowegians and English at the Water of Crie ; and afterwards, in a second engagement, at the head of only fifty well-mounted knights and squires, he assaulted fifteen hundred English soldiers, and after three desperate charges put them fairly to the rout. In a third engagement on the banks of the Dee, he defeated Donald of the Isles, who was assisted by the chiefs of Galloway, by which victory he completely cleared the latter country of the English, and compelled it to submit. After these advantages, Robert directed his arms against his old and inveterate antagonist, the Lord of Lorn. This fierce chief had once more recourse to that mountain warfare which he had formerly found so successful ; but Bruce, who now thoroughly understood its nature, soon turned the flank and rear of the men of Lorn, while he deceived them by a skirmish in front, and drove them from their passes and defiles with a slaughter from which the clan never recovered. These indeed were little more than skirmishes ; but it was only by such a war in detail, that Scotland could be best delivered and defended, and it was by such skirmishes that the confidence of the Scots was raised, and the courage of their enemies proportionably depressed.

While these successes crowned the efforts of Bruce and the brave leaders whom he had trained to victory, the conduct of the king of England presented a striking contrast. In less than twelve months he had changed his governors in Scotland six times, so that no sooner had one of them formed a plan of defence, than he was recalled. Thus there was no unity in the resistance of the English, while Bruce was enabled to choose his mode of attack, seconded by a people who had implicit confidence in their leader. At length, Edward II. woke from his lethargy ; and availing himself of his great military resources, he in 1310 led three successive invasions into Scotland at the head of powerful armies, but without any result ; for the Scots, profiting by the lessons of Wallace, laid waste the country before him, and on each occasion starved him into a retreat. After these abortive efforts, Bruce retaliated by an invasion into Tynedale, where he wasted the country for eight days, and returned laden with booty. In September of the same year, he made a second inroad into England, and ravaged the bishopric of Durham ; and after fifteen days of devastation, in which the people of Northumberland were so thoroughly quelled that their wardens were fain to purchase a truce, he returned with rich plunder, and a numerous host of captives. Bruce

then laid siege to Perth, the fortifications of which Edward I. had greatly increased and strengthened. After a siege of six weeks, he took the town by surprise, being the second man who crossed the moat, with the water reaching to his chin, a scaling ladder on his shoulders, and his spear in his hand with which he felt his way. Having dismantled the fortifications, according to his usual policy, so that the enemy might not again establish a garrison there, he made a third invasion into England, in which he burnt the towns of Hexham and Corbridge, took the rich city of Durham, and struck such terror into the inhabitants of the palatinate, that they purchased a truce for two thousand pounds; and this example was followed by the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland. While he thus daunted the English in their own country, their possessions in Scotland were rapidly escaping from their grasp. A Scottish peasant of the name of Binnie surprised the castle of Linlithgow; that of Roxburgh was taken by Sir James Douglas, and that of Edinburgh by Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, and nephew of the king.

No strong place in Scotland was now in the hands of the English but the castle of Stirling, which was besieged by Edward Bruce, and bravely defended by Sir Philip de Mowbray, the governor. At length an agreement was made to surrender the castle if not relieved by midsummer on the following year. The king was indignant at this rash compact of his brother. It gave Edward II. a whole year for preparation, and as the honour of England was at stake, it was not to be doubted that all the resources of the land would be strained for a decisive effort. Such were Robert's feelings as a prudent leader and sagacious statesman; but like a true knight he resolved to abide by the compact. The immense efforts of England verified his calculations. At Berwick, the place of rendezvous, a hundred thousand men were assembled, of whom, fifty thousand were archers, and forty thousand cavalry, three thousand of the latter being armed *cap-a-pee*, and mounted on barbed horses; while to stem this mighty inundation, Robert Bruce could muster no more than thirty thousand soldiers, of whom a mere handful consisted of cavalry. As a counterpoise to this great inequality, Bruce was incontestibly the first general of the age, while the leaders under him, Edward Bruce, Douglas, and Randolph, were scarcely his inferiors in bravery and military skill. The followers of his banner also were a fear-

less iron soldiery, trained under Wallace and himself, accustomed to conquer even when greatly outnumbered, and animated by the feeling that on this momentous occasion all was to be won or lost. Bruce availed himself in this trying crisis not only of the utmost of his military experience, but also of the nature of the ground, in making his preparations for battle. The place he selected was the neighbourhood of the contested fortress, on a field where cavalry could not act with effect, being studded with trees and skirted by a morass. His right wing rested on the rivulet called Bannockburn, where the banks are abrupt and broken; his left extended towards the castle, to keep it in check, and intercept any supplies that might be thrown into it; and as this was the most defenceless part of his position, he fortified it against the English cavalry, by honey-combing the ground with pits three feet deep, in which sharp stakes were set upright, and the whole covered with sod. Having then explained the order of battle to his chief officers, and given them their respective charges, he exhorted his soldiers to prepare themselves by prayer and fasting, as men already standing in the valley of the shadow of death. He also caused proclamation to be made, that if any one was faint-hearted, he had still permission to retire,—but to this, a loud hearty shout from thirty thousand voices was the only answer.

As soon as the English army came in sight, their first attempt was to relieve the garrison; and for this purpose, Sir Robert Clifford was detached with eight hundred horse, to make a circuit to the right, pass the left flank of the Scots, and throw themselves into the castle. This manœuvre had almost succeeded, when the quick military eye of Bruce detected the movement. He instantly rode up to his nephew, whom he had stationed in that quarter, and angrily exclaimed, "The enemy has passed your post: ah, Randolph! a rose has fallen from your chaplet." Randolph hurried off with five hundred spearmen, and was soon between the advancing party and the castle. The English confident in their panoply and strong war-horses, advanced to the charge, and were received with a compact ring of spears. The little band seemed to vanish under the fierce riders who assailed it, when Douglas, between whom and Randolph the rivalry of generous warriors and patriots subsisted, cried out at sight of his comrade's danger, and entreated leave of the king to go to his aid. Bruce sternly refused, as such a measure would derange his plan of battle;

but Douglas was not to be silenced. "Oh, noble king!" he said, "it grieves me to see Randolph perish when I can bring him help, and therefore, with your leave, I must go to his rescue." Having wrung a reluctant consent from his master, Douglas with a small band hastened to the affray. But before he reached the spot, he saw the English ranks recoiling in wild disorder, and crowds of horses flying with empty saddles from the conflict. "Halt!" cried Douglas to his followers; "the enemy are yielding; let us not diminish the glory of our friends, by coming in at the end to share it!" The English cavalry were defeated with great loss, and Randolph returned in triumph.

Before this well-contested skirmish had ended, another event occurred, which tended still more highly to exalt the confidence of the Scots. On the approach of the unwieldy masses of the English, a halt was suddenly ordered; but the centre by mistake continued to press onward, until they approached the front line of their opponents, along which Bruce was riding, distinguished by a small coronet of gold upon his helmet. Sir Henry de Bohun, an English knight, recognised him; and hoping to win honour by his capture or death, he laid lance in rest, and came forward in full career. Although Bruce was only mounted upon a small hackney, and armed with a short battle-axe, he did not shrink from the combat. But at the point of meeting, when it seemed impossible but that he must be borne horse and man to the ground, he swerved aside, and at the same instant dealt such a stroke on the crest of de Bohun, as cleft helmet and head asunder. The English retreated in confusion to their main body, while Bruce rejoined his officers, who crowded round him, and affectionately blamed him for his rashness. Conscious of the justice of their charge, he only looked at the handle of his weapon, which was split by the violence of the blow, and replied, "I have broken my good battle-axe!"

On Monday, the twenty-fourth of June (1314), the fate of Scotland was to be tried by the solemn assize of battle. The Scots, who had spent a great part of the preceding evening in watching and devotion, took their places with the alacrity of men prepared to die, yet hoping to conquer; while the English, who had passed it in feasting and wassail, were confident in their numbers, and expecting an easy victory. It was thus their ancestors had revelled on the night before the battle of Hastings, that gave England to the Normans. During the awful pause of silence before



the engagement, the Scottish army knelt as one man in prayer, while the Abbot of Inchaffray, holding a crucifix aloft, walked along the ranks, and bestowed on them his blessing. "See, how the traitors kneel!" cried the king of England—"they are craving mercy!" "True, my liege," said Umfraville, an Anglicised Scot, "but it is from Heaven, and not from us: upon that ground they will conquer or die." "Be it so, then!" exclaimed Edward scornfully, and gave the signal of onset. The cavalry rushed to the charge, shaking the ground as with an earthquake; but the earls of Gloucester and Hereford by whom they were led, being fierce and quarrelsome rivals, each was only eager to be foremost in the shock, without waiting to support his neighbour. They were thus thrown and wedged together upon unfavourable ground; their furious charges not being simultaneous, lost their due effect; and the light-armed Scottish lines, that shifted their ground as need required, and turned their spears to every direction in which they were assailed, maintained a gallant and successful resistance. While the Scottish right wing was thus employed, Randolph who commanded the centre, and Douglas and Walter Stewart who commanded the left, boldly entered into action, and the battle became general over the whole field. The English cavalry continued their desperate efforts to break through, and ride down the light square columns opposed to them; but after fruitless efforts and heavy loss, they were obliged to fall back. Then came on the archers, the real strength of an English army when properly directed; and such was the force and closeness of their discharges, that the Scottish ranks were shaken in turn. And now England might have conquered, had not Bruce foreseen, and prepared for the emergency. He suddenly let loose among them his small but chosen body of five hundred well-armed horse, under the command of Sir Robert Keith, and the archers who had no other weapons than their bows, after an unavailing struggle were cut down, broken, and driven back upon their own cavalry. Still the English, though falling into confusion, continued to resist gallantly, when Bruce, who detected symptoms of despondency and faintness among their ranks, advanced with the fourth line, consisting of the men of Argyle, Carrick, Kintyre, Bute, and the Isles, raised his inspiring war-cry, and charged at their head. The English staggered and fell back before this terrible onset, while the Scottish army pressed after them with shouts of victory. At this period, when the state of the English seemed hope-

less, a warlike apparition dismayed them: it was that of a fresh Scottish army descending from the neighbouring heights to support their countrymen. This was nothing more than twenty thousand camp-followers, consisting of old men, women, and boys, who had been stationed behind what is called from this event the Gillies' Hill, and who in their impatience to see the battle, or from hope of plunder, came down from the hill-top with loud shouts, displaying banners and wielding staves. Scared at this spectacle, the expiring resistance of the English became a headlong flight, in which, from their numbers, they were scattered over the country; multitudes were smothered in the concealed pits, drowned in the Forth, or entangled and struck down among the rugged banks of the Bannock. Thirty thousand English lay dead upon the field, of whom twenty-seven were barons, and among the prisoners were twenty-two barons and bannerets, and sixty knights; while the plunder of every description which fell into the hands of the victors, seemed enough to raise the land in one day from poverty to wealth. Even the ransom of the captives, which amounted to nearly three millions of our present money, would have seemed an equivalent for all the plunder that could have been made in Scotland since the commencement of the war, had it not been for the habits of idleness and lawlessness which that war occasioned, and which continued to be felt for generations to come. To make the happiness of such a national victory complete, the loss of the Scots was trifling, only two men of rank, Sir William Vipont and Sir Walter Ross having been found among the slain.

On perceiving the rout of his splendid army, the king of England seems to have been bereft of reason. He was at least no coward, and would have abode by the danger to the last, but his bridle was seized by the Earl of Pembroke, who hurried him from the field. Even then, Edward blindly directed his flight to the castle of Stirling; but on Mowbray representing that he must surrender on the following day, according to agreement, the king, accompanied by five hundred horse, galloped to Linlithgow. Here however there was no safety, for the fiery Douglas, who had watched his retreat, pursued him with only eighty horsemen, which was the whole mounted force that he could muster. With thrice that number the good Lord James would have hazarded one of his dashing attacks, and perhaps made Edward prisoner; but as it was, he could only hang upon the skirts of the loose-reined fugitives, who never seem to have once turned at

bay. The disordered train reached Dunbar, into the castle of which they and their fear-stricken sovereign were hospitably received by the Earl of March ; and afterwards, Edward, almost alone, escaped in the skiff of a fisherman to Berwick.

Such was the important battle of Bannockburn, by which all the military operations, and all the fine-spun policy of Edward I. were rent asunder with a touch. The wager of battle had been fairly tried, and happily even for England, the issue had been against her. For with the vassalage of Scotland and Ireland on the side of the English kings, where would have been the liberties of England ? Edward I. in consequence of his wars in Scotland, seemed to have reduced all to his subjection, and become absolute sovereign of the whole island ; but his Norman lords and knights were not so ready to coincide in a measure that would have reduced themselves to a state of hopeless vassalage. He wanted to invade Scotland ; but to induce them to arm and march, he was compelled to enlarge their rights, and these were participated in by the English nation at large. Such also was the effect produced by the Scottish wars of his successors. They were compelled to give grants limitary of the regal power, in order to effect their purpose of conquest, while the Scots so stubbornly resisted, that the favourite wish of these kings was never accomplished. How little did the barons of Robert Bruce imagine, that they were fighting for the liberty of England as well as that of Scotland ; and that their descendants would reap the rewards of their toil so late as the eighteenth century, when both kingdoms were to become one ! But the immediate and moral effects produced by the battle of Bannockburn upon the present as well as succeeding generations, was of the highest importance. It taught the Scots never to despond, even in the greatest dangers, and the most disastrous periods. Many a day of calamity and defeat awaited them afterwards, in which the liberty of their country was all but extinguished ; but still they continued the struggle however desperate, until they had achieved their deliverance. In the darkest hour of national adversity, the memory of Bannockburn brightened through the gloom like a beacon light, and when they looked upon it they could not think of submission, or yield to feelings of despair.

## CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1314 to A. D. 1327.

Crown of Ireland offered to Edward Bruce—Robert invades Ireland—Successes of Douglas over the English—Papal negotiation with Bruce—Edward II. besieges Berwick—Scots invade England—Battle of Mitton—Remonstrance of the Scottish Parliament to the Pope—Edward II. invades Scotland—His defeat at Bannockburn—His death.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*King of England.*

Edward II.

*Kings of France.*

Philip IV.

Lewis X.

Philip V.

Charles IV.

*Popes.*

Clement V.

John XXII.

THE Scots were not slow in following up the victory by which their liberties were secured. The blow they had dealt was so paralyzing, that we are told by even one of their own historians, "a hundred English would not be ashamed to fly from three or four private Scottish soldiers, so much had they lost their national courage." Within twelve months after, three expeditions were made into England conducted by Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas, in which the frontiers were wasted and laid under contribution. In consequence of the success with which these inroads were attended, Bruce conceived that the time had come of negotiating an honourable peace; but as yet, the English were too proud and sullen to listen to his proposals, so that the war was continued. On another occasion, Bruce evinced his patriotic feelings in securing the tranquillity of Scotland. In 1315 he cordially assented to the proposal of the Scottish Parliament, that his brother Edward, failing heirs-male of his own, should succeed to the throne in preference to his daughter Marjory. By this concession, the dangers of a disputed succession under which Scotland had already suffered so deeply, were avoided. After this, king Robert bestowed his daughter in marriage upon Walter, the High Steward of Scotland, from whom the royal house of Stuart, and the present dynasty of Great Britain are descended.

The renown of Scottish valour had now become so great, that it penetrated the wild recesses of Ireland, the crown of which country was offered to Edward Bruce by the native chieftains, who were weary of the English yoke. With the

consent of his brother, who thus hoped to distress the enemy still further, Edward repaired with a small but veteran force to Ireland. His course there was that of a meteor, brilliant, but brief and useless. During the three years' war which he maintained in that country, he fought eighteen battles, won them all, and swept the island from shore to shore. But in October 5. 1318, this knight-errant sovereign found the death which he had so often dared from his boyhood. Having rashly engaged an army ten times more numerous than his own, at Dundalk, his forces were speedily routed, and in the engagement, John Maupas, an Englishman of mighty strength and stature singled him out, grappled with him, and after a long combat, fell lifeless upon the dead body of his redoubted antagonist. Thus was our country saved from the misfortune and the guilt of a Scottish ascendancy in Ireland. The victors ungenerously mangled the corpse of the bold champion from whom they had so often fled; the limbs were distributed among the towns for exposure, and the head was sent to the king of England. The wretched remains of the Scottish army were conducted safely home by John Thomson, who commanded the men of Carrick in this unfortunate expedition.

During the course of these events in Ireland, king Robert had been obliged to repair thither to aid his brother, whom he joined with a considerable reinforcement, and marched from Carrickfergus to Limerick, defeating the English wherever they made a stand. But a severe famine compelled him to retreat, and a powerful army of English and Irish followed him at advantage. During this movement, and at a time when the danger was most pressing, he was startled by female shrieks among the ranks, and learned, on inquiry, that they proceeded from a poor washerwoman, who had been taken in labour, and dreaded being left behind, well knowing what fate would befall her from the savage Irish. To give battle at this period was perilous in the extreme; but the generous heart of Robert Bruce rose superior to selfish considerations. "Ah, brave sirs!" he exclaimed to the knights around him, "let it never be said, that man who is born of woman, and nursed by her tenderness, should leave a mother and an infant at the mercy of savages." This touching appeal was addressed to kind and bold hearts, and all resolved to abide the onset at whatever risk. The enemy advanced; but finding the Scots drawn up in order of battle, and imagining that they must have received reinforcements, were retired in turn, without coming to an engagement.

While king Robert was absent in Ireland, the Scottish borders were gallantly defended by Sir James Douglas and Walter the Steward, to whom their keeping had been entrusted. On one occasion, the Earls of Arundel and Britany at the head of ten thousand English, advanced to Lenthaghlee, near Jedburgh, where Douglas was encamped, hoping to take him by surprise. But this chief, who was as wary as he was brave, knew of their coming, and was ready to receive them. He wove the branches of the copsewood together so as to form a narrow lane through which the English must pass, and filled a hollow near the entrance with an ambuscade of archers. Thus the enemy were caught in their own snare. A sudden shower of arrows daunted them as soon as they filled the pass, and before they could recover, a charge of cavalry completed their confusion, while Douglas closing in combat with the Earl of Britany, struck him lifeless to the ground. After this, Edmund de Caillon, a Gascon, and governor of Berwick, vowed in the boastful spirit of his country, that he would drive a prey out of Scotland. With this purpose, he made an invasion into Teviotdale; but on returning, laden with plunder, he was intercepted by Douglas, and routed with great slaughter. The fugitives returned with terrible accounts of the prowess of the good Lord James, on hearing which, Sir Ralph Neville declared that he would engage this dreaded chief, hand to hand, if he but dared to display his banner before the walls of Berwick. Douglas, who was never slack in such appointments, appeared with his followers before the town, upon which Neville sallied out to make his promise good; but his followers were put to the rout, and himself fell beneath the sword of his opponent.

Edward II., on finding that, instead of subduing Scotland, he was unable to protect even his own borders, had recourse to the weapons of the church; and in 1317, Pope John XXII. commanded a truce between England and Scotland for two years, empowering the two cardinals entrusted with the mandate to enforce it upon Bruce, if they found it necessary, with the highest spiritual penalties. The cardinals on arriving in England sent two nuncios to Scotland, to deliver the Pope's letters; but these being addressed to Robert Bruce merely as Governor of Scotland, the latter refused to receive them. "There are many among my subjects," he said, "bearing the name of Robert Bruce, some of whom may have a share in the government; these letters therefore I cannot receive, or permit them to be

opened in my presence." He persevered in his refusal notwithstanding their explanations and apologies, upon which they ventured to propose the two years' truce; but to this, the king replied, that he could give no answer without the advice of his parliament, especially while the English were daily invading his borders. Repelled at every point by his dexterity and firmness, the cardinals resolved to publish the papal truce in Scotland at whatever hazard, and Adam Newton, a Minorite friar, was sent from Durham upon this perilous errand. He repaired to Bruce who was encamped at Old Cambus, and tendered his bull and letters; but as the royal title was still withheld, the king rejected them with contempt. Newton then proclaimed the truce before the assembled barons, who received the intimation with such tokens of rage and scorn, that the friar trembled for his life, and was eager to depart. He was refused a safe conduct for his insolence in bearding the king before his own court, and allowed to find his way to England as he best could; and near the border, he was attacked by four armed marauders, who robbed him of his bull and letters, stripped him naked, and then turned him loose to prosecute his journey.

During this ecclesiastical interlude, Bruce was preparing at Old Cambus, for the capture of Berwick, the only English possession in Scotland, and the occupation of which was of the utmost importance, as it was the gate to either kingdom. The town fell into his hands through one of the citizens whom the governor had offended, and who in revenge admitted the Scots within the walls. Having thus opened his way into England, Bruce made such a dreadful inroad into the northern provinces, that the Scots returned as the English historian informs us, driving their prisoners before them "like flocks of sheep." Edward II. finding that his antagonist was proof against papal thunder, resolved to prosecute the war in the usual fashion by attempting the recovery of Berwick. He made peace with his nobles with whom as usual he was at feud, and on the 24th of July 1319, laid siege to the town, which was held by Walter the Stewart with a strong Scottish garrison. The attack was conducted at once by sea and land. As the walls were low, it was intended that assailants should be thrown upon them from the yards and rigging of an English ship that was to be moored close to the town, while the battlements on the land side were assailed by the army. But the ship as it advanced

undoned upon a shoal, and the land attack was unsuccessful.

A formidable besieging instrument called a Sow was then brought forward; a strong sloping shed rolled upon wheels—under cover of which a strong party could advance to the walls, and either undermine them or carry them by escalade. But John Crab, a Fleming, to whom the arrangements of the defence were entrusted, had erected a huge catapult to counteract the Sow, and when that formidable engine arrived within due distance, he discharged such a mass of rock upon it as shivered its strong timbers to pieces. While such of the assailants as were left alive were extricating themselves from the ruin, a roar of laughter greeted them from the besieged, with the derisive cry, "Your sow has farrowed!" The other English engines were destroyed by combustible missiles, after which Walter the Steward rushed from the town, and by a sudden onset beat off the enemy. It was necessary, notwithstanding this gallant defence, to make a diversion in favour of the besieged in Berwick. But instead of fighting a pitched battle with the English for that purpose before the walls, which was contrary to his usual policy, Bruce resolved to withdraw them to the defence of their own country, by an invasion into England. For this purpose he sent Douglas and Randolph into the eastern counties, with an army of fifteen thousand men, who penetrated as far as York, in the neighbourhood of which city they nearly captured Isabella, the wife of Edward. Had they succeeded in this, her husband might well have forgiven them for all the injuries of the invasion. At last, in the vain hope of making head against such veteran invaders, the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Ely assembled a large army, or rather an unwieldy ill-armed mob. These were routed almost in an instant, at the river Swale near Mitton, on the 20th of December 1319, by a simple military stratagem, with the loss of four thousand men, of whom, three hundred were priests who had girt steel corselets under their surplices; and from the number of tattered corpses that were found on the field, the Scots, in savage derision termed the battle, the Chapter of Mitton. Edward, who was employed in the siege of Berwick, was thus obliged to raise it, and hurry off to intercept the invaders. His haste however was fruitless, for they eluded his approach, and returned home undisturbed, after having plundered eighty-four towns and villages.

A truce of two years followed this invasion, previous to which, Robert Bruce had been assiduous in establishing the stability of his kingdom, and promoting the welfare of his subjects. As Edward, his brother, died without heirs-male,



it had been decreed by the parliament assembled at Scone in 1318, that Robert, the infant son of Bruce's daughter Marjory, should succeed his grandfather on the throne, and rules were laid down for the succession in all time to come, to prevent confusion or debate. Provision was made at the same meeting for the military defence of the kingdom; and it was enacted, that every man who had ten pounds a year of land, should repair to the place of muster in case of invasion, armed in a buff jack and steel head-piece, with plate-gauntlets, and sword and spear, or at least, an iron back and breast plate, and gloves of mail; while every man possessing the value of a cow, was to be furnished with a bow and sheaf of twenty-four arrows, and a spear. The supply of provisions for the army while acting in Scotland was also provided for: the soldiers were not to extort any thing from the people, who, in turn, were not to refuse the requisite articles, on a fair price being tendered. By a rigid law against absentees, it was decreed moreover, that no native-born Scot while residing in a foreign country, should draw his revenue from Scotland; and to counteract the greed of Rome, which was now draining every nation of its substance, all ecclesiastics in Scotland were prohibited from remitting money to the seat of the Papal government.

In the mean time, the pontiff, John XXII, continued his hostility to the Scots; and as he and his chief cardinals were richly guerdoned with English gold, the papal anathemas were thundered anew against Robert Bruce and all his adherents. But both king and country seemed indifferent to these inflictions, originating as they did in mere political and selfish motives. An effort however was necessary to counteract them, and therefore, in a parliament of the earls and barons assembled at Aberbrothock on the 6th of April 1320, a most energetic remonstrance was drawn up, and sent to the pontiff in reply. In this interesting manifesto, after quoting the historical fact that Scotland had been a free country from earliest record, the parliament proceeded to state the unjust aggressions of Edward I., and the miseries he had entailed upon the Scots, until Robert Bruce had been raised up, like a second Joshua or Judas Maccabeus, to deliver them from bondage. On this account, as well as that of his hereditary rights, they had received him for their king, and were determined to follow him to the uttermost of their lives and fortunes. But to this declaration they sternly added, that should he show any symptoms of yielding, or in any way compromising their national liberties, then, even

him also they would reject, and choose them another king, who should be more faithful to the rights of Scotland. They concluded in language seldom uttered at that time to papal ears, that if his holiness still continued to uphold the cause of England in its claims against them, God would impute to him all that loss of life, all that destruction of souls, all those calamities with which the further warfare would necessarily be accompanied. The pope was moved as well as startled by this remonstrance: it menaced the separation of a whole kingdom from the papal sway, and held out a dangerous example of independence to other nations; and besides, the justice of the Scottish claims was so evident, that the most simple or the most indifferent could at once recognise it. He addressed himself to negotiate a peace upon equal terms between the two countries; but Edward was not yet sufficiently humbled to acknowledge the independence of Scotland.

While the Scots were thus vindicating their rights by negotiation as well as arms, a strange conspiracy had been formed to destroy their heroic king, and elevate Lord Soulis to the throne. This nobleman derived his origin, but illegitimately, from Alexander II.; and it appears that he had been secretly attached to the English cause, and pensioned by king Edward. Such was also the case with Sir David de Brechin, a nephew of Bruce, who joined in the plot, which had for its object the dethronement and death of his noble family representative. This vile conspiracy was discovered by the Countess of Brechin, who had become privy to its details, and the principals were arrested and tried by the Parliament in August 1320. Soulis died in prison, and of the rest, De Brechin, a popular favourite, suffered the death of a traitor, with three of the chief accomplices. There was a profound, and probably a prudent concealment of the details of the plot, when its authors were tried and punished, and therefore the people, with whom De Brechin was a favourite, called the court by which he had been sentenced, "the Black Parliament."

After this danger in Scotland was happily surmounted, Edward, who had obtained a complete victory over his refractory nobles headed by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, imagined that the opportunity was ripe for the fulfilment of the vow which he had made to his dying father. He therefore wrote a vainglorious letter to the pope, telling him to trouble himself no longer about advising the Scots to a truce, as he was about to establish a thorough peace

by dint of conquest; after which, he ordered a military muster of the whole power of the kingdom. This command was obeyed so tardily, that during the four months that intervened, his rapid enemies made two victorious inroads into England, returning each time laden with booty. At last, Edward entered Scotland at the head of a well-appointed army of a hundred thousand men, in the hope of obliterating the disgrace he had sustained at Bannockburn. But Bruce was under no promise to abide the encounter in open field as before, and he therefore resolved to drive back the invasion, as Wallace had done, by famine and desolation. The English found accordingly wherever they came, that they had entered a dismal wilderness: men, sheep, and oxen were no longer to be found; the stores of provisions had vanished; and through the whole range of Merse, Teviotdale, and the Lothians, the invaders encountered no enemy but hunger. A retreat was inevitable; and this movement was the signal for the Scots to reappear, and harass the skirts of the English army, who in their homeward march burnt the abbeys of Melrose and Dryburgh, and murdered a few old monks, who were too feeble to run away. On reaching the frontiers of England, they indemnified themselves so voraciously for their late abstinence, that sixteen thousand brave soldiers died of repletion, while thousands more had their constitutions ruined beyond recovery. The disasters of Edward during this campaign were not yet ended. Having reinforced his still powerful army, he arranged it upon a very strong position at Bilaud Abbey, near Melton, in Yorkshire. The pursuing Scots soon appeared, their ranks surmounted by the dreaded banners of Bruce, Douglas, Randolph, and the other heroes of the war. The English who were skilfully drawn up on the edge of a steep and rugged declivity, could only be approached by a single pass, which was rough and difficult of ascent. The adventurous feat of carrying it was undertaken by Douglas and Randolph; and while they were engaged in this perilous struggle, Bruce sent the agile mountaineers of Argyle and the Isles, to scale the ridge at a short distance from the conflict, and fall upon the enemy's flank and rear. This stratagem was successful: the English finding their position turned so unexpectedly, were broken, and chased off the field, and Edward himself with difficulty escaped to Bridlington, leaving once more, as he had done at Bannockburn, the great seal of England in the hands of the Scots. Bruce then wasted the country as far as Beverley, which

town he laid under contribution, and returned to Scotland enriched with plunder and captives. Dispirited by so many defeats, as well as harassed by the dissensions and conspiracies of his nobles, Edward was at last compelled to listen to terms of accommodation, and a truce was ratified between the two countries, to continue for thirteen years. Still, however, the resentment of the English king was unabated, so that he covertly continued to stir up the pope against the Scots and their sovereign, and in consequence of these evil offices, Bruce was obliged to send Randolph on a mission to the papal court. There, that renowned warrior was so successful in his negotiations, that the pontiff addressed a bull favourable to Robert Bruce, and recognising his title of King of Scotland. After this happy feat of diplomacy, Randolph went to the French court, and succeeded in renewing the ancient league between Scotland and France. During these negotiations, a son, afterwards David II., was born to the Scottish king, and recognised as heir to the crown, in a parliament held at Cambuskenneth, in July 1326. But the principal circumstance that distinguished this parliament, was the sitting of a Third Estate, composed of the representatives of royal burghs—a token of the growing importance of the towns, and the consequent prosperity of the country at large.

On the following year (1327) the disastrous life of Edward II. was brought to a premature and melancholy close. This infatuated monarch had offended the nobles, and forfeited the affections of the commons, not only by his extravagant attachment to worthless favourites, but in consequence of the disgrace and calamity that had been inflicted upon England by his wars with the Scots. After several conspiracies formed against him by the nobility, but which ended disastrously for themselves, the last, headed by the queen Isabella, and her minion, the Earl of Mortimer, proved successful: Edward was defeated, taken prisoner, and soon after murdered in Berkeley Castle, with circumstances of atrocity too hideous to be mentioned. This event produced a change in the affairs of Scotland, which it is now our business to consider.

## CHAPTER XII.

Douglas and Randolph invade England—Attempt to surprise Edward III.—Peace between the two countries—Death of Robert Bruce—Sir James Douglas killed in Spain.

A. D. 1327 to A. D. 1330.

## CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

*England.*  
Edward III.

*France.*  
Charles IV. le Bel.  
Philip VI. of Valois.

*Pope.*  
John XXII.

ON the death of Edward II., the direction of affairs in England was assumed by Queen Isabella, and her paramour, the Earl of Mortimer; and as their authority was a usurpation, they endeavoured to make it popular, by lightening those military imposts which already weighed oppressively upon the country. One of their first measures therefore, was to negotiate a lasting peace with Scotland: here, however, they exhibited such duplicity and bad faith, that the war was continued. Bruce at this time was labouring under a wasting disease which ultimately proved fatal, and he could no longer support the fatigues of a campaign; but his able pupils, Douglas and Randolph, were now the foremost captains of the age, and to them he entrusted the management of a great invasion into England, after he had dictated the leading principles of their warfare. Thus Bruce was still able to defeat armies even in his chamber and upon his sick-bed. And strange indeed was that invasion as it is detailed in the rich pages of Froissart! The Scottish army consisted of four thousand men-at-arms, equipped for chivalrous conflict, if need should be,—but the strength of it lay in twenty thousand light cavalry, men mounted upon little ponies that could make almost incredible marches in the course of a day, and whose riders dismounted on the approach of battle, and formed themselves into compact bodies of infantry. These horses also needed no commissariat establishment: after the most toilsome day's march, the riders had only to turn them loose into the fields, where the scantiest meal sufficed them. The men were equally abstinent. Drovers of cattle and culinary utensils, the indispensable accompaniments of other armies, were superfluities with the Scots. Each soldier carried a

bag of oatmeal behind his saddle, and an iron plate for baking cakes ; beyond these, he depended for beeves and muttens upon the fat pastures of England that lay before him, and his only drink was the river or the fountain by the way. His mode of cookery was equally primitive. The skin of the animal stretched upon upright stakes, and filled with the flesh and a little water, under which a fire was placed, could seethe or boil in a few minutes what animal food he required to enrich his oaten cake ; and thus provisioned, he was ready at a moment's call for the longest marches, or most laborious encounters. Against such a force, that seemed to move like the wind, and which could encounter or avoid a battle at pleasure, young Edward III., now in his fifteenth year, marched with sixty-two thousand well-appointed soldiers, of whom eight thousand were cavalry completely armed, fifteen thousand lighter horsemen, fifteen thousand foot-soldiers, and twenty-four thousand archers. This was a force sufficient to overwhelm the Scots with a single charge in an open field—an opportunity however which the Scots had no intention to furnish. They made a descent upon one place, slaying, burning, and destroying ; but when the English advanced to give battle they suddenly disappeared. On the morrow, these shifting enemies were heard of renewing their devastation in another quarter ; but again confronted, they vanished as lightly as before.

At length, the English who had searched for their nimble opponents in Northumberland, without finding any trace of them, except wasted plains and burning villages, and who were exhausted and famished with a three days' march in quest of an army that was hovering within five miles of their encampment, resolved to cross the Tyne at the usual place of passage, and thus intercept the Scots on their return. Upon the Scottish side of the river they accordingly encamped, but in most miserable plight, lying upon the cold ground and in drenching rains, compelled to watch through the hours of night against surprise, and daily tantalized with the vain hope of an engagement. Eight days thus passed away, after which they recrossed the river, and encamped within their own border. Edward III. then issued a proclamation, offering knighthood, and a grant of land of a hundred pounds' yearly rental, to any person who could show him where the Scots were to be found. This reward was claimed and obtained by Thomas de Rokeby, a Yorkshire squire. He had been taken prisoner by the Scots, who were equally ignorant of the position of the English army, and who released

him in all courtesy, that he might reveal to his countrymen where they were to be found. He led them onward accordingly; but the Scots were found so strongly posted upon the slope of a hill above the river Wear, that it would have been madness to assail them. In this emergency, the young Edward had recourse to the principles of knight-errantry. He invited his enemies to come down, and try their fortune with him in fair manhood upon the plain, where he assured them of full leisure to form their battle; but at this invitation the Scottish commanders laughed, and sent for answer, that as they had come hither without leave of the English king, he might approach as he best could, and chastise them at his pleasure.

The English being thus unable to assail the Scots by open attack, resolved to reduce them by blockade, and for this purpose, they encamped on the opposite side of the river, to prevent their escape. But while the Scottish army feasted and made merry upon the fat of the land, the English, in addition to the famine that prevailed in their camp, were worn out by sleeplessness as well as hunger. One part of the Scottish plan of warfare was to give the enemy no rest; and therefore, during each night, while their watch-fires blazed upon every height and hillock, their watchmen kept up such an incessant clamour with trumpeting upon cow's horns, "that," says Froissart, "it seemed properly that all the devils of hell had been there." Thus the jaded English remained for three days watching and longing between hope and despair; but on the morning of the fourth, the Scottish army was no longer to be seen. They had decamped by night, and taken up a stronger position in a wood, called Stanhope Park, with the river Wear still in front. The English again encamped right opposite, watching, in the vain hope of drawing the Scots into an engagement on the plain. While the hostile armies thus confronted each other, a daring attempt was made by Sir James Douglas to slay or capture the young English king. He crossed the river silently at midnight with five hundred horse, skirted the English army, and returned upon their rear, calling out, as if he had been one of their officers going the rounds, "Ha, Saint George! have we no watch here?" He passed unsuspected quite into the centre of the army; then setting spurs to his horse, and shouting his dreaded war-cry, "A Douglas, a Douglas!" he bore down all before him, until he reached the royal tent, the cords of which he cut asunder. Edward himself was all but within his grasp, when the royal household

covered their master's escape; and the English having started to their arms, Douglas was obliged to retire, after having inflicted considerable loss on the enemy in this chivalrous midnight adventure.

Provisions now began to fail even in the Scottish encampment, upon which a retreat was appointed; but as this could not be accomplished by day, in the face of a vigilant enemy, arrangements were made for effecting it during the hours of darkness. In the mean time, the English had learned from a prisoner, that the Scots had been commanded to be ready at evening to follow the Douglas' banner, and apprehending another nocturnal visit from this daring chief, the whole army remained under arms. The Scottish watch-fires blazed all night as usual; but when the morning dawned, not a Scot was to be seen. They had safely crossed a swamp that defended their rear, by means of hurdles, which they afterwards removed, to prevent pursuit; and carried with them in ozier hampers, which they had made for the occasion, the rich plunder of a two weeks' English invasion. The astonished English crossed the Wear, and entered the deserted camp, where they found nothing but five hundred carcasses of cattle, three hundred temporary kettles made of their hides, a thousand wooden spits with meat on them ready for roasting, and ten thousand pair of shoes cut out of the skins of English bees, with the hair still upon them. A more revolting spectacle was that of five English prisoners tied to stakes, three of whom had their legs broken. Thus the Scots had wrought their pleasure in England, in the face of an army three times their number. Young Edward shed tears of rage and shame when he saw this result of his first campaign, and learned that the retreating Scots were far beyond pursuit. The plight of his army after such bootless fatigue was truly pitiable, and on reaching York, the greater part of the horses and many of the soldiers died of hunger and exhaustion.

It was now apparent, even to the English themselves, that the reduction of Scotland was hopeless; and with an exhausted treasury and wasted borders, they were as eager for peace as they had formerly been for war. A Parliament was therefore assembled at York, on the 1st of March 1328, to adjust the terms of a treaty; and after considerable discussion, peace was at last ratified between the two kingdoms, the basis of which, was a full recognition of the independence of Scotland, and the royal rights and title of her king. It was also agreed, that in order to give



permanance to the unity between the two nations, David, the young son and heir of Robert Bruce, should marry Joanna, sister of Edward III., and in the event of her death before marriage, that he should espouse some other princess nearest in blood to the king of England. The Scottish muniments attesting the ancient freedom of the country, which Edward I. had carried away, were to be sought out and restored, and the fated stone upon which the kings of Scotland had been crowned, and which was regarded as the palladium of the national liberty, was to be remitted to its resting-place at Scone. Bruce on his part agreed to pay, in three instalments extending over as many years, the sum of twenty thousand pounds, in consideration of the damage he had inflicted upon England. Such were the principal terms of this important treaty—a treaty that might well have made Edward I. turn his face even in his grave with wrath and shame. But it was mainly the work of Isabella and her paramour Mortimer, who hoped by conciliating the Scots, to establish their own usurped authority. So great, however, was the indignation of the English people in consequence of these concessions, that when the Scottish stone was about to be taken from Westminster Abbey, according to the articles of treaty, the mob of London rose, and prevented its removal.

Thus was Scotland raised, by the heroic energy of one man, from a state of hopeless feebleness and prostration, to independence, prosperity, and influence. And that man, having accomplished his glorious task, was ready to enter into his rest. Although scarcely yet old in point of years, Bruce had for some time been feeling the helplessness of age, as well as the wasting effects of leprosy, the result of his many hardships and privations, so that the iron frame and gigantic strength that had never found their match in conflict, were already bowed down, and reduced to utter feebleness. He repaired to his pleasant palace at Cardross, upon the banks of the Clyde, near Dumbarton, and in that mild climate and peaceful retirement, he calmly waited the summons that should call him from the world. The picture of these his last days is a soothing contrast to the stir of his former life. He employed his leisure hours in architecture and gardening; he improved and enlarged his rural palace, planted fruit-trees, enjoyed water excursions upon the gentle Clyde and its romantic estuary, and received with warm hospitality those gallant knights and nobles who had so often fought by his side. In addition to these occupations, he spent his time

in devotion, and in acts of charity to the poor. To complete this interesting sketch, we are told, that his pet animal was a tame lion—a fit attendant for such a sovereign. While such was the patriarchal tenour of his declining days, the young bride, Joanna, the promise of lasting peace, arrived from England, bringing with her the Scottish records, and the degrading Ragman Roll. King Robert visited and welcomed the youthful affianced pair at Edinburgh; and having performed this, the last of his royal and paternal duties, he returned to his solitude at Cardross, and prepared himself to die in peace.

That mournful event occurred on the 7th of June 1329. The deathbed of the hero was surrounded by the companions of his toils and triumphs; men who in war had frequently shown hearts as impenetrable as the corslets that guarded them, but who now wept like women because their master was about to be taken away. The last hours of Bruce were darkened with the thought that he was still an excommunicated man, and that his cherished hope of reconciling himself with the church by warring against the infidels in Palestine had been frustrated by the daily emergencies of his eventful life. All that he could do was to send his heart thither, to be buried within the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre—a commission with which he intrusted Sir James Douglas, in language that wrung tears from the heart of that gallant warrior. “Ah, gentle and noble king,” the latter sobbed forth; “a hundred times I thank your Grace for the great honour that you do to me, sith of so noble and great a treasure you give me in charge; and, sir, I shall do with a glad heart all that ye have commanded me, to the best of my true power, howbeit I am not worthy nor sufficient to achieve such a noble enterprise.” On this acceptance of the commission, the dying king said to him, “I thank you; for now shall I die in more ease of my mind, sith I know that the most worthy and sufficient knight of my realm shall achieve for me that which I could never attain unto.” It was, perhaps, at the same sad interview, that the king delivered to his nobles what has been affectionately termed “The Good king Robert’s Testament,” the richest bequest that ever sovereign gave to his people, if they had but possessed the wisdom to turn it to account. But to their neglect of it may be traced most of their subsequent disasters, as well as shameful defeats. This testament consisted of three simple directions, the result of his great military experience. These were, for the Scots always to fight

on foot; to put their trust in the morasses, woods, and mountains of their country, instead of walls and garrisons; and to lay the country waste before the invaders, exhaust them with perpetual alarms, and thus force them, through weariness and hunger, to retreat. Thus died king Robert Bruce at the comparatively early age of fifty-five. His character is best read in his deeds, and in the deliverance of Scotland. It is only necessary to add, that he fully accomplished what Wallace had so nobly begun, by studying the example and walking in the steps of his illustrious predecessor.

With the return of spring, Douglas addressed himself to the duty which he had vowed to his dying sovereign. He took with him the heart of Bruce enclosed in a rich casket of silver, and set sail with a train like that of a king. He arrived at Sluys in the Netherlands, where he cast anchor, waiting for company to join him, and kept aboard, with trumpets and clarions sounding; and his table, to which all were welcomed, was splendidly served with vessels of gold and silver. After he had waited twelve days in the port of Sluys, tidings reached him that Alphonso, king of Castile and Leon, was at war with the Moorish Sultan of Grenada; and esteeming this to be a holy warfare, and in character with his mission, Douglas turned his course to Valencia to assist the Christian monarch, intending afterwards to pass to Jerusalem. But this hero of seventy fights met death in the first encounter he enterprised upon the soil of Spain. On joining battle, the Moorish cavalry pretended to give way in disorder, and Douglas, deceived by a mode of warfare that was new to him, eagerly gave chase. He was soon separated from the Spanish army, and enveloped by the wily enemy, upon which, loosing the casket from his neck, and throwing it among the Moorish ranks, he exclaimed, "Forward, gallant heart, as thou wert wont; Douglas will follow thee or die!" He charged into the thickest of the throng, and fell covered with wounds. On the following day his body was found; and the casket, which he had recovered, was clasped to his bosom, as if he would guard it even in death. These sacred relics being brought back to Scotland, the heart of Bruce was solemnly buried in the abbey of Melrose, and the body of the good Lord James in the tomb of his fathers at Douglas.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Randolph's Regency—His death—Edward Baliol invades Scotland—Battle of Dupplin Moor—Baliol driven out of Scotland—Battle of Halidon Hill—Murray's Regency—Siege of the castle of Dunbar—Successes of the Scots—David II. returns from France—Ramsay starved to death—Famine in Scotland.

A. D. 1330 to A. D. 1344.

## CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

*England.*  
Edward III.

*France.*  
Philip of Valois.

*Popes.*  
John XXII.  
Benedict XII.  
Clement VI.  
Innocent VI.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1331. Teutonic Knights settled in Prussia.
- 1337. War between England and France for seven years.
- 1340. Gunpowder said to have been invented by a German Monk.
- 1340. Painting in oil supposed to have been commenced by John Van Eyk.

ON the death of Robert Bruce, Randolph, whom he had appointed Regent, assumed the management of affairs, in the name of the youthful sovereign, David ; and this able warrior, who had so successfully fought for his country, soon showed himself a stern justiciary, well fitted to heal its internal troubles. His measures were severe, but perhaps not more than the state of the times required, while they appear to have been regulated by the strictest principles of justice. On one occasion, a man who had been guilty of murdering a priest, repaired to Rome, where he obtained pardon of his crime, and on the strength of this, ventured to return to Scotland. On being apprehended and arraigned, he pleaded the absolution of the Pope, as a sufficient ground for exemption from punishment. But Randolph was not to be so persuaded. "The Pope," he said, "may give you remission for the sin of killing a priest, but I must hang you for the murder of a Scottish subject,"—and the culprit was accordingly executed.

But wise and energetic as was the administration of Randolph, it could not avert a fresh war with England. This indeed was inevitable, from the ample concessions of the late peace, which the English regarded as derogatory both to the honour and interests of their country ; and their

young sovereign, Edward III., as he ripened into manhood, burned to vindicate the national honour, by a fresh conquest of Scotland. Being as politic as he was brave, he resolved, in the first instance, to foment the disturbances of the Scots, by raising up a pretender to the crown against the reigning family; and with this view, he invited Edward, son of John Baliol, to the English court, where he served as a rallying point to the disaffected. He also stirred up the Lords Beaumont and Wake to advance their claims to the estates they held in Scotland, and which Bruce had refused to restore, upon the plea, that these nobles being Englishmen, could not be trusted as lieges to the Scottish government. These barons, with the connivance of king Edward, resolved to repossess their estates by the sword; and mustering a few vassals, with Edward Baliol for their nominal head, they embarked at Ravenshire, near the mouth of the Humber, for the purpose of invading Scotland by sea. Randolph was making every preparation against this meditated attack, when he died suddenly at Musselburgh; and his death happened so opportunely for the enemy, that it was generally supposed he had been taken off by poison. Thus was Scotland deprived of the last of her brave defenders, and exposed as a helpless prey to the invader. Randolph was succeeded in the regency by David Earl of Mar, whose chief merit seems to have been, that he was nephew to the late king.

In this unpromising state of affairs, Edward Baliol, and the lords Beaumont and Wake, entered the Frith of Forth, and landed at Kinghorn. Their whole force for the conquest of such a kingdom, consisted of only three hundred horse, and a few foot; but it seemed as if the spirit of Bruce had gone over to their cause. They defeated the Earl of Fife who opposed their landing, and gathering reinforcements in their progress, they encamped near Forteviot, having the river Earne in their front. They still did not number more than three thousand men, so that boldness alone could have given any chance of success to such an adventure. In boldness, however, they were not found wanting. With an army of thirty thousand men, the Earl of Mar encamped on the opposite side of the river, upon Dupplin Moor. While all was careless security on the part of the Scots, the invaders on the night of the 12th of August (1332) crossed the Earne, and rushed into the Scottish camp, which was buried in profound sleep, after a day of drunken revelry, and without a single sentinel on guard.

The rout was speedy, and the havoc terrible, for the Scots, in their confusion, trampled each other under foot, and smothered those whom the sword would have spared. Thirteen thousand expiated with their lives this gross pusillanimity and negligence of military discipline. The conquerors inspired with success, rushed upon Perth, which fell into their hands without opposition. While they were employed in repairing the fortifications, another Scottish army, numerous enough to have recovered Perth and annihilated the invaders with a single onset, advanced. But Lord Beaumont, on beholding their approach, exclaimed, "Have no fear of these men : we have friends among them." And so it proved. The Earl of March, by whom this army was commanded, after idly displaying his banner, gave the signal of retreat, and afterwards made his peace with England. Without such treachery and connivance among the Scottish lords, this seemingly mad expedition would never have been attempted. All opposition for the time being thus abandoned, Baliol, fortified by his own and the Comyn faction, and joined by malcontents of every description, was crowned at Scone. Edward III. now approached the borders with an army, to reap the harvest which his lords had sown ; and Baliol, still more abject than his father, swore fealty for himself and for Scotland to the English king, engaged to serve under his banner, and ceded Berwick, with rich lands upon the border worth two thousand pounds of yearly rental.

Scotland now began to recover from her bewilderment, and the result was, that the crowned incubus who sat upon her was quickly shaken off. Baliol had scarcely rejoiced in the royal title for three months, when he was himself surprised in his encampment at Annan, where he rested comfortably under the shadow of the English king's protection, by Archibald Douglas, brother of the good lord James, young Randolph, a second son of the late regent, Simon Fraser, and other relics of the old war of Scottish independence. So complete was the rout, that Baliol fled half naked and almost alone across the border, to his liege-sovereign the King of England. After these sudden changes, so characteristic of an unsettled kingdom and barbarous age, the Scots appointed to the regency Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, a brave and wise leader, whose youth was trained to war under Sir William Wallace, who had afterwards followed Bruce under every mutation of fortune, and by whom his faithful services were rewarded with the hand of his sister, Christina. But the first efforts of the

new regent were unfortunate. After having removed the young king and queen for safety to France during this strange period of uncertainty, he attempted to surprise the castle of Roxburgh in which Edward Baliol was lodged, but was himself taken prisoner ;—and to add to the national calamity, Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddisdale, a natural son of the good Lord James, and entitled the Flower of Chivalry, was soon after defeated on the borders, and taken prisoner also. It was now the turn of the King of England to avail himself of these advantages, and therefore, while Scotland was bereaved of her bravest champions, he laid siege to Berwick, which Edward Baliol had ceded to the English crown. Notwithstanding a brave defence, the townsmen were reduced to such straits, that they agreed by a compact common in the times of chivalry, to surrender, if not relieved within a certain time. It was a most impolitic engagement with so powerful an enemy as England, and which Bruce, even in his highest estate would have deprecated, because it involved the necessity of a pitched battle under every disadvantage. But the Scots were men not inclined to leave their brethren in extremity, and therefore they raised forces as they best could, to give battle to the choicest chivalry of England. On approaching Berwick, they found the English army so strongly entrenched, that to have assailed them would have been utter madness. In this emergency, Archibald Douglas, the leader of the Scottish army, had recourse to an expedient which his brave brother, the good Lord James would have adopted—he tried to detach the English king from the siege of Berwick, by an inroad into England. But he had not his brother's military skill, although he was every whit as brave and fearless. After ravaging Northumberland, he laid siege to the castle of Bamborough, in which the English queen Philippa was lodged ; but its strong walls bade defiance to every assault. In the mean time, he received tidings from Berwick, that the appointed time was elapsing, and the town must soon surrender ;—that even the hostages who had been rendered to Edward III. were threatened with instant execution, if Berwick was not forthwith yielded ; and he hastily retraced his steps, to fight one decisive battle for the deliverance of the besieged. He recrossed the Tweed, approached Berwick, and found the English advantageously posted in four strong battles or divisions, flanked by archers, upon Halidon Hill, and ready to welcome him. The Scots encamped upon an e hill, with a dangerous bog between them and the

enemy: but eager for the relief of Berwick, they forsook their strong position, and rushed to the encounter. The English archers plied their deadly shafts upon them as they struggled through the bog; and when they ascended the hill in broken array, and out of breath with their exertion, they were encountered by the fresh and compact ranks of the English, who hurled them down the hill, and slaughtered them at pleasure. To add to the disasters of the Scots, their knights and nobles, men sheathed in mail, who had committed the steeds to the care of their attendants that they might fight on foot, were deprived of the means of escape, for their followers, on the first symptom of discomfiture, had betaken themselves to flight, carrying off with them the horses of their masters. Archibald Douglas was mortally wounded, and died soon after; the earls of Lennox, Ross, Sutherland, Carrick, Monteith, and Athol were slain; and from the heavy slaughter of knights and nobles, the English thought that the Scottish wars must now be ended, as their enemies had neither an army to bring into the field, nor a general to lead it.

After this deadly defeat, Berwick surrendered according to agreement, and Edward Baliol resuming his royal functions, commanded a parliament to assemble at Edinburgh. But it was only to deepen the national degradation, by fresh concessions to the English king. He not only renewed his oaths of homage and fealty to Edward III., but agreed to surrender the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Dumfries, and the Lothians, contenting himself with the miserable remainder, as a sort of petty dukedom. But this national dismemberment was fortunately not to be lasting. The high-spirited English barons who had espoused the cause of Baliol, and in whose hands he was but a puppet, began to quarrel about their shares of the Scottish lands; and at the same period, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell had either escaped or been liberated from prison, and came down to Scotland. His arrival, like a beacon-signal, called the patriots to arms, he was joined by several of the English malcontents; and such was the success of his military operations, that the adherents of Edward Baliol were every where defeated, and himself obliged to flee once more for refuge into England.

Edward III. was in no mood to desert so compliant a vassal-king, and towards the close of 1334, he entered Scotland, for the double purpose of supporting the cause of Baliol, and securing the ceded counties. Although he found



no army to oppose him, famine and the storms of winter encountered and drove him across the border, without honour or advantage. On the summer of the following year, he repeated the invasion. Here however the Scottish nobles, happily for their country, were unable to agree upon any common plan of defence, and were thus prevented from risking the general safety upon a decisive engagement. They were obliged to have recourse to a war of skirmishes, according to good King Robert's Testament, and in this way they inflicted some severe losses upon the invaders. Yet the almost unbounded resources of the English, and the military skill of their sovereign were so effective, that the Scots were compelled to submit; and therefore, according to an old historian, if you asked a Scottish man, Who was king of Scotland? he would conceal his real sentiments, and answer, "Edward Baliol," while children similarly questioned, in all the honest simplicity of childhood would lisp forth the name of David Bruce. The English king, after having established Baliol once more in the royal seat, and rebuilt the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, returned home—a movement which summoned the Scots to fresh resistance. They again appointed Sir Andrew Murray regent, and showed such a determined front, that for the fourth time Edward conducted an expedition into Scotland. But although his army was numerous and well appointed, the gallant knight of Bothwell put in practice the tactics of Wallace and Bruce so successfully, that Edward III., with all his military skill, was unable to allure him to an engagement. Frequently, indeed, when Edward thought he had the Scottish army within his grasp, it eluded him like a shadow, and vanished he knew not whither. After carrying desolation into Scotland as far as Morayshire, he was compelled to retreat in consequence of the famine he had himself created, while his departure was only the signal for the Scots to rise in such strength, as to make him feel that the conquest of Scotland was as hopeless as before.

Yet upon that conquest Edward was still obstinately bent, although he already contemplated the far more important acquisition of the French crown, to which he had pretensions through his mother Isabella; and as he was about to conduct an expedition into France, he committed the management of the Scottish war to the Earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Norfolk. Salisbury, with a division of the English army, laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, on the 28th of January 1338. The Earl of March, who was commander, was absent, but

his brave Countess, Agnes, a daughter of Randolph, and who inherited much of her father's daring and military skill, assumed the defence of the castle. She fearlessly appeared upon the ramparts directing the operations of the garrison; and when the dust was flying from the walls, under the battery of the English engines, she wiped her face with a handkerchief in derision of the besiegers. Being foiled in every attack, the English had recourse to blockade, by which they would probably have starved the garrison into a surrender, when Sir Alexander Ramsay, the gallant knight of Dalwalsey, made a bold attempt to relieve the castle, after it had been besieged five months. This he accomplished by passing with a light vessel laden with provisions through the blockading fleet of the enemy; and the English, disheartened by this circumstance, broke up the siege and retreated.

The war of Scottish independence was again maintained by skirmishes carried on by the Scots with caution and boldness, and in most of which they were successful; but as these encounters bear a close resemblance to those of former periods, a slight allusion to the chief of them may suffice. Thus, William Bullock, a warlike priest, was mainly instrumental in taking Perth, by boldly wheeling his engines close to the walls in the midst of a solar eclipse, while the English were paralysed with superstitious terror. The knight of Liddisdale drove the enemy out of Teviotdale, took the castle of Hermitage, defeated Sir Roland de Vaux; and after three encounters in one day with Sir Lawrence Abernethy, put his forces utterly to the rout, and took him prisoner. He also got possession of the castle of Edinburgh, having procured admission within the gates by means of a small party of his soldiers disguised as English mariners, and pretending to carry provisions and supplies. These brave deeds of the Flower of Chivalry, so worthy of his title and parentage, were matched by those of Ramsay, whose fame in arms by his successes against the English rose so high, that no young soldier's education was thought complete, until he had served a campaign under the knight of Dalwalsey's banner.

This species of detailed warfare, which continued for three years, was so effectual in the liberation of Scotland, that the people, whose hearts affectionately longed for the return of the son of good king Robert, invited David and his queen from France, where they had been in exile nine years. The royal pair complied, and landed at Inverbervie on the

4th of June 1341, amidst such popular triumph and acclamations as promised a happy reign.

The young king, now in his eighteenth year, soon found his administration involved in difficulties that could not be easily settled. A short time only had elapsed after his return, when the brave Ramsay captured the important castle of Roxburgh, and to reward this service, the king made him sheriff of Roxburghshire. This promotion enraged the knight of Liddisdale, who on account of his possessions in Roxburgh, imagined himself entitled to the office. His plan to repossess himself, went even beyond the barbarity of that savage and lawless period. He repaired to Hawick with an armed band, while Ramsay was dispensing justice in open court; and as soon as the latter rose, to welcome his companion in arms, Douglas suddenly assaulted and wounded him, dispersed his few attendants, threw his rival, bleeding and helpless, across a horse, and carried him off prisoner to the lonely castle of Hermitage. There the unfortunate victim was thrown into a dungeon, to be starved to death; and there in a few days he died, after having lived, or rather been tortured for that period, by subsisting upon some chance grains of corn that dropped through the crevices of the roof, from a granary above. This atrocious deed, for which Douglas deserved to have had the spurs of knight-hood hacked from his heels by the executioner's cleaver, was passed unpunished, for he was a favourite with the nation, in consequence of his gallantry and daring achievements. David was even obliged to invest him with the vacant sheriffdom, and the foul murderer continued to wear the title of the Flower of Chivalry, as if no such ruffianly crime had been committed.

While such was the degeneracy of the knightly spirit in Scotland at this period among the representatives of Randolph and the good Lord James, a proportionate deterioration appears to have taken place among the commons. In consequence of the English invasions, and the sacrifices in driving them back, the lands remained untilled and were converted into wastes, so that even the deer and wild beasts of game were driven down to the haunts of men in quest of subsistence. The same necessity suggested horrible expedients to the famishing human occupants, so that a man and his wife, of perhaps many similarly guilty, were detected in having set traps to catch young children, for the purpose of feeding upon their flesh. They were tried, condemned, burnt to death. A pestilence, the natural conse-

quence of such a famine, desolated Scotland so frightfully, that many fled from a land which seemed to have been abandoned of heaven, and sought refuge in France, Flanders, and other continental countries. Such was the result of all that military glory which England had alternately lost and won in a struggle commenced in ambition, and continued through pride and obstinacy. But still the Ruler of nations was at hand to elicit good from all this evil. The liberties of the island at large were not to be laid prostrate under the feet of a victorious sovereign by the conquest and occupation of Scotland.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Character of David II.—Battle of Durham—Captivity of David—His proposals for liberty—Battle of Nisbet—Edward III. invades Scotland—David II. released—His unpopular Reign—His Death—Succeeded by Robert II.—Arrival of French auxiliaries in Scotland—Their Departure—Scots invade England—Battle of Otterburne—Death of Robert II.

A. D. 1342 to A. D. 1390.

### CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

#### *Kings of England.*

Edward III.  
Richard II.

#### *Kings of France.*

Phillip of Valois.  
Charles V.  
Charles VI.

#### *Popes.*

Innocent VI.  
Urban V.  
Gregory XI.  
Urban VI.

### CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1346. Battle of Crecy won by the English in France.
- 1347. Rienzi seizes the Government of Rome.
- 1349. Order of the Garter instituted by Edward III.
- 1352. Entrance of the Turks into Europe.
- 1356. Victory of Poitiers gained by the English in France.
- 1362. Pleadings in English courts changed from French to English.
- 1377. Wycliff's doctrines preached in England.
- 1383. Cannon first used by the English in their French wars.

THE return of David Bruce to Scotland, brought few of those national advantages which had been so ardently anticipated. Like his father, the young king was personally brave and chivalrous; but he had neither his father's military talent to defend his people, nor his wisdom and pru-

dence to govern them. He was rash and headstrong ; ignorant of the temper and habits of his subjects, and vitiated by the love of pleasure which he had imbibed with his French education. Such was the son and successor of one of the wisest and most heroic of kings, and who ascended the throne at one of the most critical periods of his country's history.

After the arrival of David II., the war still continued between England and Scotland, and although a truce of two years was established between the kingdoms to last till 1346, yet Edward's absence in France was too tempting an opportunity to be resisted by the Scots. Scarcely, therefore, had the interval been agreed to, when it was interrupted by a furious border invasion of the knight of Liddisdale, from which he returned laden with booty. After this successful sally, David rashly resolved upon a general inroad, hoping from the occupation of Edward in France, to find England defenceless. Such indeed was the confidence of the Scots, that they declared there were none left to defend the kingdom but priests and mechanics. Accordingly, a muster of all the forces of Scotland was ordered to meet at Perth, and an immense host assembled at the summons. Yet even here, an ominous commencement of a disastrous expedition occurred. Ronald, who commanded the men of the Isles, and had a deadly feud with the powerful Earl of Ross, was assassinated at the instigation of the latter, in the monastery of Elcho near Perth, by a treacherous harper in his employ ; after which the guilty earl, apprehensive of retribution, retired with his numerous followers : the Islesmen also broke up in great disorder, and retired to their distant homes, incensed at the murder of their chief, for which they could obtain no revenge. These two secessions greatly diminished the strength of the Scottish army ; yet David, still bent upon his rash purpose, broke through the western frontier, and ravaged the bishopric of Durham with merciless havoc. The English heroically strained every nerve to repel the invader. Ten thousand soldiers who were about to be embarked for France, were marched to the border : the Lords Neville, Percie, Scrope, and Hastings, mustered their military retainers ; and accompanied by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, three bishops, and a considerable number of priests, the whole embattled force marched forward to drive the Scots out of England. It was now to be seen how the English priests and mechanics of whom

the invaders had talked so scornfully, would be able to defend their country.

David's best wisdom would have been to shun the encounter, and to this he was advised by even the chivalrous Knight of Liddesdale; but the Scottish nobles were so eager for plunder and revenge that the suggestions of this gallant Douglas were overruled. As if to crown their folly, they actually encamped in a park called Beaurepaire, near Durham, a ground so intersected by inclosures, as to be wholly unfit for the light evolutions of a Scottish army. Their infatuation was rewarded with the fate it merited. On the morning of the 17th of October 1346, the English army advanced; and the Scottish ranks separated by the enclosures, and unable to support each other, were slaughtered in heaps by the archers, who, to the number of ten thousand, coolly selected their victims, and drew their bow-strings with deadly precision. At the approach of this formidable arm of English warfare, a gallant knight, Sir John de Graham, probably remembering the arrangement of Bruce at Bannockburn, eagerly exclaimed, "Give me but one hundred horse, and I will ride down and scatter yonder archers!" The king refused this prudent request, upon which the knight made the attempt with his own handful of mounted followers; but was overpowered, and all but taken prisoner in the desperate and unequal conflict. After the Scottish ranks had been thinned and mingled together by the close discharges of the archery, they were charged by the English billmen and cavalry, and completely discomfited. Fifteen thousand Scots lay dead upon the field, among whom were six noblemen and thirty barons. David himself, who in the midst of his infatuation had shewn no lack of personal courage, was taken prisoner after a desperate resistance; and with him were also captured the brave Knight of Liddisdale, the Earls of Monteith, Fife, Wigton, and Sutherland, and fifty knights and barons. After this ill-concerted engagement, the left wing of the Scots which had suffered little, and such of the army as rallied and joined it, were conducted home in safety by the Earl of March, and the Steward of Scotland.

Such was the disastrous result of a conflict termed by the English the battle of Neville's Cross, and of which the spirit of the dead Bruce might have affirmed, in the words of Napoleon, "*I was not there.*" His son was conveyed to London, and paraded in humiliating procession to the Tower. The blow was felt so heavily by the Scots, that

they fell back before the presence of their victorious enemies, and the line of demarcation between them, which was extended on the behalf of England to the territory between Colbrand's Path and the Soultra Hills, was afterwards pushed forwards to the line between Carlops and Crosscryne. The English king made an ungenerous use of this victory, by adjudging the Earls of Monteith and Fife to the death of traitors, for having transferred their allegiance from Baliol to David Bruce. As for Edward Baliol, for whom so much zeal was pretended, his name was merely used as a pretext, and his claims were thrown aside without ceremony. Edward III. put forward in their stead his own personal demands, as lord paramount of Scotland, and rightful inheritor of its throne, and sent three of his great barons to receive the homage of the people. But the Scots had already recovered that indomitable firmness for which they were distinguished under the most adverse circumstances. They appointed to the regency the Steward, who, failing the male heirs of Bruce, had been nominated next in succession to the throne, and rallied the remains of their forces, under those nobles who had escaped slaughter or captivity at Neville's Cross. They were also joined in this hour of need by the brave William Lord Douglas, son of Archibald, and nephew of the good Lord James, who had now returned from France, and who by a series of successful skirmishes succeeded in clearing his own patrimony of Douglasdale, and also Ettrick Forest and Teviotdale, of the bands and garrisons of the English.

Edward III. would now have followed his success by clutching the crown of Scotland with a mailed hand. Such, however, was the reluctance of his nobles, who knew the danger and difficulty of such a conquest, that he was compelled to attempt by craft what he would rather have accomplished by mastery. He agreed to a truce with the Scots, which was renewed from time to time for six years; and in the hope of making David Bruce as compliant to himself as John Baliol had been to Edward I., he lightened the restrictions imposed upon his royal captive, and even allowed him to visit Scotland, upon giving security to return within a certain period. This plan was wonderfully successful. David, on tasting the sweets of liberty, was willing to enjoy them even as a vassal-king; and therefore he proposed—he, the son of the hero of Bannockburn!—to swear allegiance to Edward, and renounce the independance of Scotland, as the price of his restoration. But the indignation of the Scottish nobles rose

so high at the proposal, that he was compelled to return to his English prison. An under-plot of a similar character, and for the same end, was carried on with the unscrupulous knight of Liddisdale, who, in consideration of being set at liberty, and rewarded with lands in Scotland, was to maintain a strong military force to co-operate with the designs of Edward. Thus the unfortunate country had for her enemies and betrayers, not only her anointed king, but also her bravest champion. The latter did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his treachery. A short time after this infamous compact, the "Flower of Chivalry" was encountered and slain while hunting in Ettrick Forest, by his own relative and god-son, William Lord Douglas.

A treaty was soon after proposed of setting David at liberty on payment of a ransom of ninety thousand merks sterling. While the impoverished Scottish Estates were deliberating upon the disbursement of so large a sum for the liberation of a king to whom they owed so little, Eugene de Garencieres, a brave knight, arrived from France with a gallant band of lances, and forty thousand *moutons* of gold, to induce the Scots to break the truce with England. These weighty inducements turned the scale, and Douglas and the Earl of March resolved to invade Northumberland, by the inhabitants of which county, however, the truce had been previously broken. They commenced their inroad by placing the bulk of their forces in ambush at Nisbet, within the Scottish boundary: they then sent in advance a strong body of five hundred men under Sir William Ramsay, son of the knight of Dalwolsey, who wrought great havoc, and collected abundance of spoil. On his return, he purposely paraded his troops and booty within sight of the castle of Norham. Fired at this insult, the governor and garrison sallied out in pursuit, but fell headlong, as had been intended, into the ambush at Nisbet. After this success the Earls of Angus and March obtained possession of Berwick through the aid of Garencieres and his French troops. But these foreigners being disgusted with the hardships and privations of a Scottish campaign, and the rude manners of their allies, returned shortly afterwards to France, so that their aid, except in the reinforcement of money, was of little avail.

Edward III., enraged at these successes of the Scots, hurried from Calais, and at the head of eighty thousand soldiers laid siege to Berwick, the Scottish garrison of which, having no means of resisting such a host, surrendered,



but upon honourable terms, by which they were allowed to retire into Scotland unmolested. After this capture, he prepared in earnest for a complete conquest of the country; and, to invest himself with a legal show of right in his proceedings, he sent for the compliant Edward Baliol, to undergo a solemn farce of homage and renunciation. The royal recreant appeared at the summons. Clothed in kingly attire, he abjured his titles and claims to the Scottish throne; and taking from his head the crown of gold which he had assumed for this mumming exhibition, he humbly laid it at the feet of his master. Having thus renounced a kingdom in which he had not a foot of land that he could call his own, or a vassal that would mount at his bidding, and transferred it to one whose right was still less than his own, he vanished once more into his merited obscurity, where he died, old, childless, and dishonoured, in 1363. Having thus cleared the way, Edward commenced a campaign which was to decide the fate of Scotland beyond all further controversy. But the Scots, although far inferior in resources and leaders to those of former periods, and although Edward III., the conqueror of France, was an enemy immeasurably more formidable than his father, they were prepared to defy him to his teeth. Their plan of defence was that of Bruce and Wallace—to lay waste the country, harass the enemy in detail, and drive them back by famine. Some time was necessary to clear the districts of the means of sustenance; and that this leisure might be obtained, Lord Douglas was sent to the English king, ostensibly to treat about the terms of surrender, but virtually to afford his countrymen time to destroy their houses, and remove the provisions and cattle. Douglas was so successful in this diplomatic attempt, that ten days were squandered in useless treaty, after which he suddenly left the camp of the English, exulting in the thought of the famine that was prepared for them. Edward, who had overreached so many men, was furious on finding himself outwitted in turn. In this mood he plunged into Scotland, but found nothing save ruined huts, and empty stalls and barn-yards: he threw out his foragers; but wherever they turned, it was to encounter superior troops or fall into ambuscades. Almost frantic at the privations of his army, and the little prospect of success, he drove furiously onward with fire and sword, and spread the conflagration so widely, that this month of February (1356) was long afterwards remembered in Scotland as the “Burnt Candlemas.” To complicate his difficulties, his

provision-ships, which had been sent to Berwick with supplies for his army, failed to appear at the expected time, having been driven back and scattered by a storm, and Edward, after lingering among the ruins of Haddington, which he had destroyed in his fury, reluctantly gave the signal of retreat. The same signal called the Scots from their hiding-places, and every forest and morass seemed to give birth in an instant to armed multitudes. They hung upon the rear of the retiring enemy; Douglas shook them with his fierce and chivalrous onsets, in one of which Edward was nearly taken prisoner; and the latter, baffled in this his fifth Scottish campaign, returned to England to brood over his losses, and study new modes of winning Scotland to his sway.

The plan he now tried was that of gentleness and negotiation. After a captivity of nine years, David was pining for freedom; and Edward proposed terms for his liberation, which were finally ratified in 1357. By these, the Scots were to pay a hundred thousand marks, at the rate of ten thousand annually for ten years, and to give hostages of rank for the faithful payment of the ransom. These were harder conditions than those which had been tendered on a former occasion; but the Scottish Estates had no longer the allurements of French gold and French auxiliary forces to tempt them to a refusal. David accordingly returned to his country and throne.

It was soon painfully apparent that the restored king had not learned wisdom even in a prison. One of his first displays was of a highly ungracious character. As his subjects followed every where the son of the Good King Robert with welcome, and even thronged in their eagerness into the house where he abode, he snatched an iron mace from one of his guards, and dealt such weighty lessons on court etiquette, as quickly repelled the most forward. And still more deeply he offended his people by the disgraceful subserviency which he soon evinced to the designs of the English king. He made long visits to England, as if the land of his bondage had become the home of his affections; and at last he had the hardihood to propose to the Scottish Parliament in 1363, that as he had no heirs of his own body, and was now a widower, Queen Joanna having lately died, one of the sons of the king of England should succeed him, in preference to the family of the Steward. He even particularised Lionel duke of Clarence, as the fittest person for the succession. The Scottish Parliament met

this unworthy proposal with an indignant negative, and declared that, be his merits what they might, no Englishman should reign over them. The king was abashed and silent, while the Steward taking the alarm, assembled his adherents to enforce his right of succession, which had been confirmed by a former Parliament. On this occasion, David showed something of spirit and military promptitude. He marched with an army against the family and partisans of the Steward, and awed them into submission. To requite their return to duty, David agreed to respect the law of succession as established by king Robert; and he conferred the earldom of Carrick, formerly belonging to Robert Bruce, upon the eldest son of the Steward, afterwards Robert III.

All this flattering acquiescence, however, was merely a politic yielding, or at best a transient repentance. David repaired once more to London, entered into fresh treaties with the English king, and on the 23d of November 1368, agreed that Edward should succeed him in the throne of Scotland, if he died without issue. To this bargain, twenty-seven conditions were annexed, having for their object a closer amalgamation of the interests of Scotland with those of England. But the time was not yet come, and at that season a union upon such equal principles would have been so impracticable, that Scotland must soon have surrendered her national rights to the stronger contracting party. David, also, on his return to Scotland, committed an act of such unpopular imprudence as unfitted him for propounding this ungracious treaty, by whatever tempting arguments it might be backed. His queen having been dead for more than a year, he married a beautiful lady, but of inferior rank, the daughter of a petty baron, and related to Sir John Logie, who had died the death of a traitor for his accession to the plot of Lord Soulis in 1320, against the life of Robert Bruce. This unequal union alienated from him the affection of the high nobles, who thought that a Scottish queen should be selected from their own order, and even incensed the middle classes, at finding one of their own rank exalted so far above them. Soon after, probably on account of this union, by which the vexatious question of the succession was opened afresh, the Steward and his adherents were thrown into prison. But the king, who was of that fickle disposition which is fostered by an immoderate love of pleasure, quickly became weary of Margaret Logie, his beautiful partner, and obtained from the compliant Scottish clergy a sentence, by which the marriage was dissolved. Against this the queen appealed to

the Pope, and repaired in person to Avignon, to prosecute her suit. During her season of elevation, she had hoarded a considerable amount of treasure, and she used her Scottish gold so successfully, that the papal court were disposed to reverse the sentence. But she did not live to return to her native country as its queen, having sickened and died at Rome in 1369. David himself did not long survive her, as he died in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 22d of February 1370, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and forty-first of his reign. He was one of those characters but too often found in history, in whom vices, weaknesses, and defects stand out in stronger distinctness, by being contrasted with the greatness and worth of those parents whose places they occupy, and whose virtues they are expected to inherit.

As David II. died without an heir, the succession quietly devolved, as had been settled, upon the family of Walter the Steward, who had wedded Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce. Accordingly their only son, Robert, was crowned at Scone on the 27th of March 1371, by the title of Robert II. He was already an elderly man, being fifty-five years old; but a numerous family of five sons and seven daughters, seemed to give security against the failure of a royal line and fresh contests for the crown.

The first years of the new king's reign were pacific, as the English were fully occupied in the conquest of France. But in 1378, the war between the two countries was resumed, and fierce skirmishes were fought upon the borders, in which the advantage was generally with the Scots. These continued for two years, after which, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, approached the Scottish border with an army in 1381. A twelvemonth's truce was the result, which was afterwards continued for another year. Indeed, the English court was fully occupied at this time, and with matters more important than the conquest of Scotland. The brave and politic Edward III. slept with his fathers, his successor Richard II. was still a minor, and the nation was so overtaxed to maintain the war in France, that the commons were everywhere in a state of revolt. In addition to this, the country was torn asunder by religious dissension between the adherents of the old faith, and the followers of Wyckliffe. The Duke of Lancaster, who was especially obnoxious to the people, had his palace of the Savoy burnt to the ground, and was himself obliged to fly; but in this emergency he sought and found a refuge, not among the allies of England, but the hereditary enemies of his race and country. He

came to Edinburgh, where he was hospitably received, and for his greater safety, the castle of Edinburgh was placed at the disposal of himself and his attendants. Here he remained until the suppression of Wat Tyler's insurrection, after which he returned to England.

The French, who were still occupied with the English invasion, and reduced to severe straits, bethought them in their extremity of the ancient alliance with Scotland. Their conduct toward that country had hitherto been selfish in the extreme; instigating the Scots to war against England when it served their own advantage, and then leaving these faithful allies to their fate on the return of peace. On the present occasion, they wished to occupy the resources of England with a Scottish war. Robert II., who was of a pacific disposition, was adverse to the measure; but the nobles, who were eager for strife, spoil, and military glory, rushed headlong into the proposals of the French court. Accordingly, in 1385, John de Vienne, admiral of France, a distinguished warrior, landed in Scotland at the head of a thousand men at arms, and about four thousand of their military followers; and bringing with him twelve hundred suits of complete armour, and forty thousand francs in gold, to be distributed among the Scottish leaders. But notwithstanding the incontestable bravery of the French, and the military skill of their commander, these auxiliaries were woefully out of place in Scotland, where they could find no pageants and tournaments; the coarse fare and coarser manners of the people shocked them; and when they attempted those profligate adventures in gallantry for which their nation was but too justly famed, they were apt to be admonished by the thrust of a dagger, or blow of a battle-axe. The operations of the war also disgusted them, as these consisted of skirmishes and surprises, instead of careering in the open battle-field for the applause of minstrels and heralds. The Scots on their part were equally disgusted with the profligacy, vanity, and fastidiousness of these new comers, so that the usual greeting with which the French were welcomed was, "What foul fiend brought you hither?—pack up your goods and begone!"

Amidst these dissensions between such ill-paired allies which daily became more irreconcilable, Richard II. entered Scotland with eighty thousand men. The French, exulting in the hope of a pitched battle at last, discovered with chagrin, that the Scottish leaders had no such purpose against an army so superior in numbers and equipments.

On the contrary, the country was to be laid waste, the enemy surrounded with famine, and their inroad recompensed with a counter-invasion of England. In this expedition, the nimble light-armed Scots moved with inconceivable rapidity and little fatigue, but the steel-clad French cavaliers had both their strength and patience exhausted; their heavy war-horses died, and their armour was covered with rust. While the English marched as far as Edinburgh without finding either an enemy to encounter or spoil to gather, the Scots burst into Cumberland, where they inflicted more havoc than the plunder of the half of Scotland could have compensated. Richard II. hurriedly recalled to the defence of his own kingdom, hoped to encounter his enemies by the way; but the Scots returned by a different route, laden with the wealth of England. The French were now weary of this kind of warfare, so opposed to their temper and habits, and eager to return to France. But the Scots refused to allow their departure, until they had given security that their expenses should be reimbursed by the French government, and for this, they were obliged to leave their commander, Sir John de Vienne, in pledge. They then set sail for their own country, execrating the day and the hour that had carried them from their homes to share in the glory of a Scottish campaign.

As the war with England still continued, the Scots in 1388 resolved upon a fresh inroad into England, under the command of the Earl of Fife, second son of Robert II. They assembled their forces for this purpose at Jedburgh; where, on learning that the Northumbrians had resolved to invade Scotland as soon as the country was left defenceless, it was decided, that the bulk of the army should attack the western frontiers, while a detachment of three hundred knights and men at arms and two thousand foot, under the command of James Earl of Douglas, should invade England by the eastern marches. This commander, who though still young was as brave and skilful a warrior as ever bore the redoubted name of Douglas, entered Northumberland, crossed the Tyne, and after wasting the bishopric of Durham, advanced as far as the city of York. Then returning homeward, he passed in military triumph the walls of Newcastle, as if defying its garrison to come out and arrest his march. The fiercest and bravest lance of England, Sir Henry Percie, surnamed Hotspur, his brother Sir Ralph, and many gallant knights were in the town, who occasionally sallied forth from the gates to skirmish with the Scots.

In one of these chivalrous hand-to-hand encounters, Douglas bore Hotspur to the earth, and captured his pennon, which he waved aloft in triumph, exclaiming, "I will bear this token of your prowess into Scotland, and set it on high on my castle of Dalkeith!" "Sir," retorted the discomfited Sir Henry, "you may be sure you shall not pass the bounds of this country, till you be met withal in such wise, that you shall make no vaunting thereof." "Well, sir," answered the gallant Douglas, "come this night to my encampment, and seek for your pennon: I shall set it before my tent, and see if ye will come to take it away." This was a challenge which, according to the spirit of the age, could in no case be neglected; and the Scots retired in slow and careful array, and ready for the coming assault. Douglas pitched his camp at Otterburne in Redesdale, about thirty miles from Newcastle, and after judicious arrangements, resolved to make a halt, in expectation of the promised meeting. It was only on the second day that Hotspur, having learned that the main army of the Scots under Fife was still at a great distance, and not at hand as he had thought, commenced the pursuit with six hundred men at arms, comprising the flower of the border chivalry, and about nine thousand soldiers. At midnight on the 15th of August, the Scottish camp was assailed with the loud cry of "A Percie, a Percie!" which was as boldly answered with the shouts of "A Douglas, a Douglas!" The English were detained before the Scottish camp by a strong barricade, and a stout resistance of the outposts, until Douglas had drawn out his forces in admirable order of battle, with one flank protected by the river Rede, and the other by hills and morasses. One of the most desperate encounters that had distinguished the wars between the two countries then occurred by the soft light of an autumnal moon. After a close and determined struggle, the superior numbers of the English began to prevail, when Douglas, wielding with both hands a huge battle-axe which few in his army could lift, rushed into the press, and dealt such terrible strokes, as cleared a lane through the English, and made the boldest recoil or bite the dust. But in this decisive onslaught he received three mortal wounds, while his banner which followed him, was struck down with its bearer. His friends for whom he had thus made way, fought onward to the spot where he lay dying, and Sir John Sinclair, who recognised him in the moonlight, asked him how he fared? "But indifferently," said the expiring warrior, "but, thank

God ! few of my ancestors have died in their beds. There is a prophecy in our house, that a dead Douglas shall win a field, and I think it will be this night accomplished. Conceal my death, raise my fallen banner, shout my war-cry, and revenge my fall." A desperate attack of these bold knights ensued, under which the English reeled, gave back, and finally betook themselves to flight, leaving both the Percies, and almost all their men of rank, in the hands of the Scots. When the victory was won, the fury of conflict subsided almost in an instant, so that, according to Froissart, "every man said to his prisoner, 'Sir, go and un-arm you, and take your ease ; I am your master ;' and so made their prisoners as good cheer as though they had been brethren, without doing to them any damage." On the day after the battle, the Bishop of Durham advanced with seven thousand men to aid the Percies ; but on finding that these bold chiefs were vanquished and prisoners, the prelate's heart failed him, and he hastily retired. The Scots returned home more like a funeral procession than a victorious army, carrying with them the body of their brave and beloved leader.

On the following year, Robert II. being weary of the toils of government, the Earl of Fife was chosen Regent, and a three years' truce was concluded between France and England, in which Scotland was afterwards included. During the summer of 1390 the king died at his castle of Dundonald in Ayrshire, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign. In his early life he had distinguished himself by considerable courage and military activity ; but, on succeeding to the crown, he exhibited an indolence and love of ease that gradually increased with his years. The unpopular effect of this disposition, however, was in some measure counteracted by a generous heart, an affable demeanour, and graceful person, which secured him the toleration if not the favour of his fierce and warlike subjects.



## CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1390 to A. D. 1424.

Succession of Robert III.—Disorders among the nobles—Conflict of the clan Kay and clan Chattan—Duke of Albany plots against the Duke of Rothesay—Henry IV. invades Scotland—Duke of Rothesay starved to death—Battle of Homildon—Hotspur invades Scotland—Prince James captured by the English at sea—Death of Robert III.—Duke of Albany appointed Regent—Naval skirmishes—The Lord of the Isles invades the mainland—Battle of Harlaw—Selfish administration of Albany—Succeeded by his son—James I. liberated and restored to Scotland.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*Kings of England.*

Richard II.  
Henry IV.  
Henry V.

*Kings of France.*

Charles VI.  
Charles VII.

*Popes (at Rome).*

Boniface IX.  
Innocent VII.  
Gregory XII.  
Alexander V.  
John XXIII.  
Martin V.

*Popes (at Avignon.)*

Clement VII.  
Benedict XIII.

## CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1392. The Cape of Good Hope discovered by the Portuguese.
- 1398. Tamerlane conquers part of India, and takes Delhi.
- 1415. Victory of Agincourt gained by Henry V. in France.
- 1415. John Huss the Bohemian Reformer suffers martyrdom at Prague.
- 1417. Paper first made from linen rags.
- 1420. The Island of Madeira discovered by the Portuguese.

ROBERT II. was succeeded by his eldest son John, Earl of Carrick ; but as this name was thought ominous, having been worn by John of England, John Baliol, and John of France, all of whom had been unfortunate, it was changed into that of his father, so that he is known in history by the title of Robert III. The new sovereign was wholly unfitted for the sphere he occupied and the age in which he lived, and that also by virtues, which disqualified him as effectually as if they had been absolute vices. In consequence of lameness in one of his legs, he had been unable, during the life of his father, to discharge the active duties of his station, which had devolved upon his younger brother the Earl of Fife. Leading a contemplative life before he was called to the throne, he saw that peace was necessary to Scotland, for the purpose of healing its dissensions and developing its resources ; but such a peace could

only be secured by an active energetic sovereign, possessed of military influence. It was also unfortunate for this desire of national tranquillity, that his wish and power to promote it were equally thwarted by the circumstance, that he was only the second of a new dynasty. The Stewarts had been merely Scottish noblemen, until accident, not merit, had elevated them to the sovereignty; and those proud lords, who had so lately been the equals of the new sovereigns, were scarcely yet disposed to render homage and obedience. On these accounts, combined with his character and habits, the virtues of Robert III. were not appreciated. His earnest and benevolent love of peace was regarded by the aristocracy as absolute cowardice; and even his devout attachment to the church obtained little favour in the eyes of a nation whose liberties had been more than once endangered by an arrogant pontiff, and a clergy devoted to his will.

In addition to the Earl of Fife, who was a cold, crafty, and ambitious man, and who procured himself to be elevated into Duke of Albany, the king was directed, and the affairs of the country managed, by the Earl of Buchan, a younger brother than the duke, whom his father had entrusted with the government of the northern part of the kingdom. This chief was so savage, and so infamous for deeds of rapine and massacre, that he was universally known by the title of the Wolf of Badenoch. Even at the beginning of this reign he committed a deed that showed how well the title was deserved. In consequence of some real or fancied offence which he had received from the bishop of Moray, he descended at the head of a wild horde upon the bishopric, wasted the country, and set fire to the splendid cathedral of Elgin, after having plundered it of its wealth and ornaments. Such deeds in a prince soon found imitators; and his natural son, Duncan Stewart, a youth worthy of such a father, made also a furious invasion into Aberdeen and Forfar, at the head of a savage army of Highlanders, plundered and wasted the districts without scruple, and routed in a battle at Gasklune, near the Water of Isla, the flower of the chivalry of the two counties who marched against him. An idea of the frantic valour of these Highlanders, and their utter contempt of life, may be gathered from one incident which occurred during the battle. Sir David Lindsay, a brave knight completely covered with steel armour, had encountered one of these naked mountaineers, and pinned him to the earth with his spear. Still the sa-

vage writhed up against the weapon, and with one desperate stroke of his broadsword cut through the stirrup and steel-boot of his assailant, immediately after which feat he expired with a grim smile of gratified revenge upon his lips.

These excesses in the Highlands, which the king had neither the courage to confront nor the power to punish, still continued, and might have been even more formidable to the Lowlands, but for the feuds among the Celts themselves. Clan was opposed to clan, and except when they were banded against the common enemy, or for a descent upon the Lowlands for the purposes of plunder, they fought more furiously with each other, than even against the hated race of the Saxons. These outrages were at last cured for a season by a remedy equally savage. The two most powerful of the Highland septs, the clan Kay and the clan Chattan, weary of their long feuds, which had been carried on with equal ferocity and loss, at last agreed to settle their quarrel in mortal arbitrament before the king and his assembled court. This proposal was gladly embraced by the government, in the hope that among such combatants all would end in a general slaughter, so that both Highlands and Lowlands would be rid of their worst enemies. A day accordingly was appointed, in which these hirsute champions were to meet, thirty on each side, armed with their native weapons, and the North Inch of Perth was fixed upon as the place of combat. On the day assigned, the champions confronted each other cooped up within narrow lists, but eager for the death-onset, when it was found that one of the clan Chattan had stolen from the field. At this discovery, the benevolent king would have prevented the combat; but so general was the love of fighting at this time in Scotland, that Henry Wynd, a bandy-legged armourer, who cared neither for the cause of quarrel nor the side on which he fought, stepped forward from the crowd, and offered for the small sum of half a mark to supply the place of the runaway. The numbers were thus completed, and the battle was conducted with a fury which the waters of the Tay had seldom witnessed. At last, only one of the clan Kay survived, who cleared the barriers and fled; while of the Chattans, eleven survived, but helpless from their wounds. This remedy had its proposed effect. The fiercest insurgents of the country had left their corpses upon the Inch, and many years elapsed before their clansmen were able to make an inroad upon the more civilised parts of Scotland.

The Duke of Albany, to whom the management of public affairs was chiefly intrusted, now began to show his ambition more infamously. David, Duke of Rothesay, the heir-apparent of the Scottish throne, was a high-spirited, brave, and accomplished prince, and therefore fitted, as well as entitled, to take a share in the government ; but in this he was supplanted by his ambitious uncle, who wished to retain the whole power in his own hands. The active spirit of the prince being thus suppressed, broke forth in deeds of riot and dissipation, which were industriously reported with many exaggerations by Albany to the king. This created a breach between father and son, and the latter was displaced from the council. At length, it was proposed to correct the excesses of Rothesay by marriage ; but here also the malignant influence of Albany interposed ; for instead of leaving the prince to his own choice in the selection of a bride, he advertised his hand as the reward of the highest dowry. The powerful Earl of March, ambitious of becoming the father-in-law of his future sovereign, entered this strange market, and as he offered a tempting fortune with his daughter, the bargain was concluded. But the still more powerful Earl of Douglas, who regarded March as his rival, hurried in with a yet higher offer, upon which that of March was unceremoniously thrown aside, and the daughter of the best bidder became princess of Rothesay. This, too, was not the whole injury inflicted upon March. He had already paid a part of his daughter's portion, in full reliance of her approaching nuptials ; and when he sought to recover at least the money he had laid down, the demand was shamefully refused. The earl was not a person to be thus injured with impunity. He was a skilful and fortunate warrior ; his power upon the marches was extensive ; and from his possession of Dunbar, he boasted, and with justice, that he carried the keys of Scotland at his belt. Retiring sullenly to his sea-girt castle, he matured his plans of revenge ; and having entered into a secret alliance with Henry IV. he soon after repaired to England, where he became one of the most dangerous enemies of his country.

A war with England ensued soon after. The truce between the two countries had for some time been at an end, and although Henry IV. occupied an uncertain throne, from which he had deposed his lawful sovereign Richard II., and was therefore deeply interested in maintaining peace with Scotland, yet the intrigues of Albany against him, as

well as some fierce invasions of the Scottish borderers, obliged him, though reluctantly, to prepare for an invasion. He accordingly revived the antiquated claims of the kings of England to the feudal superiority of the country, and to make his demand upon its homage good, he entered Scotland with a large army, and penetrated as far as Edinburgh. His progress, however, was marked by a moderation unusual in the wars of the two nations; for he not only spared the town, but extended his protection to the canons of Holyrood, in consideration of the hospitality with which they had treated John of Gaunt, his father. In the mean time, Rothesay and his father-in-law held out the castle against the English, while Albany hovered in the distance with a large army, but carefully shunning an engagement. The prince, who at last became weary of the bondage of a siege, and impatient for a career in the open field, sent a cartel to the English king, offering to rest the fate of the castle upon a combat of one, two, or three nobles on either side, by which the effusion of Christian blood might be avoided; but at this chivalrous sally, Henry only laughed, and asked if these nobles had not also Christian blood in their veins? He was more anxious to draw Albany into a decisive engagement, which the latter promised to give in six days, with no purpose, however, to abide by the agreement. After vainly surrounding with his engines the rock of Edinburgh castle, and attempting to shake its strong walls, Henry was obliged to raise the siege, and hastily retreat to England, where Welsh insurrections and English disturbances awaited his arrival.

Although Scotland was thus delivered from the invader, the gloom continued to deepen. The amiable and prudent queen, who had often interposed, and effectually, in behalf of her son, was dead; his father-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, who had both will and power to shield him, also died, and was succeeded by his son Archibald, who hated Rothesay, and allied himself to the unprincipled Albany. Rothesay also, who had given such proofs of talent and gallantry in the defence of the castle of Edinburgh, appears, with the return of peace, to have again given loose to those rash excesses for which he had been so severely visited. Albany, as usual, was at hand to misrepresent and advise; and the king was prevailed upon to allow the arrest of the prince, in the hope that confinement would effect a cure, while the duke himself was to be his preceptor and keeper. The prince accordingly was conveyed to the castle of Falkland,

but for far other purposes than courteous entertainment, and gentle wholesome admonition. On the contrary, he was secretly immured in a dungeon and starved to death, while his uncle solemnly assured the parliament that the demise was the natural effect of disease. But he and the Earl of Douglas, who was a partaker of his treachery, betrayed their consciousness of guilt, by taking out at the same time a pardon so complete, as might shield them from any further charge, either about the imprisonment or death of their victim.

There being no longer any truce between England and Scotland, the war was continued ; and as if to still the remorse of conscience, that may have weighed upon him for the death of the unhappy Rothesay, Douglas rushed into battle, which was his natural element. But although he was as brave and dreaded a warrior as ever displayed the banner of his house, and had never met an equal champion in the field, his military skill was so defective, or at least so unlucky, that he was nick-named the Tyneman, or Lose-all, on account of his defeats and disasters. On the contrary, the English were animated by the Earl of March, whose success at last became so proverbial, that good luck was supposed to wait upon him unbidden ; and being aided in their inroads by his brave borderers, who still recognised him as their chief, independently of their native king, he proved an able military counsellor to Henry IV., and a formidable enemy to Scotland. His large border estates also had been alienated through the influence of Albany into the hands of Douglas, and from this proud and overshadowing rival, he was particularly eager to wrest them. In the first border invasion of England, therefore, the Scots were met by an overwhelming military force under Hotspur and March, and completely defeated at Nesbit-Moor. Douglas, eager to retrieve this loss, raised an army of ten thousand men, with which he carried havoc into England, until he reached the strong walls of Newcastle. He then encamped his forces on Homildon Hill, near Wooler, where he was soon confronted by a strong English army headed by the Earl of Northumberland, his daring son Hotspur, and the brave and fortunate Earl of March. When the battle was about to commence, Hotspur, with his characteristic impatience, would have charged right up the hill, and attacked the close ranks of the Scots in their strong position, where a defeat as fatal as that of Otterburne would probably have awaited him, had not the Earl of March seized his bridle

and shown the danger of such an onset. By his advice the engagement was commenced by the English bowmen. They advanced in front of their army, and ascertaining the range of their broad stationary mark at a single glance, commenced a heavy shower-storm of arrows against which plate and mail were unavailing. The unflinching Scots were falling uselessly in their ranks in heaps, when an aged knight, Sir John Swinton, exclaimed, "O my brave countrymen, let us not stand still, to be struck down like a herd of deer: let us rather descend upon the English, engage them hand to hand, and at least die like men." He was instantly joined by Adam Gordon, a brave young border lord, whose family had been at deadly feud with Swinton, but who now knelt upon the sod, and craved the honour of knighthood from the hand of the gallant veteran. The three sword-strokes on the shoulder being hastily given, the gallant pair rushed down to a close engagement; but as they were only followed by their own attendants, they were soon overwhelmed and slain. Douglas would now have descended to the plain, but found that it was too late: his broken ranks were huddled together by the sharp discharges of the archery, and himself, after receiving five wounds and losing an eye, was made prisoner. With him were also taken Murdoch, Earl of Fife, son of the Duke of Albany, the Earls of Angus and Murray, and twenty other persons of rank. Such was the battle of Homildon, a defeat which the Scots chiefly owed to the exertions of the Earl of March their own countryman. The victory was gained by the English with such ease, that after the archers had done their duty, the knights and men at arms had nothing to do but to ride down or capture a flying enemy.

On hearing of the signal success at Homildon, Henry IV. wrote to the victorious Hotspur, enjoining him not to admit the Scottish prisoners to ransom without the royal concurrence. This was a startling command, and wholly at variance with long-established feudal rights, by which the noblest families had been enriched, and enabled to live in princely splendour. Besides, it was chiefly through the exertions of the house of Northumberland, that Henry had been enabled to depose his sovereign and ascend the throne. These were thoughts that rankled in the hearts of the proud Percies, and made them indignant at the mandate. The king indeed conceived he had propitiated them, by giving father and son a full investiture of the broad lands belonging to Douglas, their captive; but he might as well have

made the grant extend over Scotland itself, as the one as well as the other could only be won by conquest. It was this circumstance, however, that suggested the means of revenge, and Hotspur concealing his resentment, assembled forces, under the pretence of winning his Scottish earldom. He entered Scotland in 1403, and in June laid siege to a small border tower called Cocklawis or Ormiston. The owner, John Greenlaw, a simple esquire, as he looked from his loop-holes, must have been astounded at the unexpected honour of being besieged by the best warrior of England, at the head of an army fit to do battle for a kingdom. But Hotspur, although he battered the tower, was in no hurry to storm it; and while he spent day after day in preluding upon the walls with his engines, he was all the while conducting a deep negociation with the Duke of Albany, as well as with Douglas, and his noble prisoners of Homildon, to aid him in dethroning his sovereign. The whole plan being arranged according to his wish, Hotspur passed into England at the head of an English and Scottish army, and having Douglas for his companion in arms. They were encountered at Shrewsbury by Henry IV., his son prince Henry, the future hero of Agincourt, and the Earl of March; and in the desperate engagement that ensued between such antagonists, the crown of England for three hours trembled in the scale. But the event was at last decided by the death of Hotspur, who fell by a random arrow; and Douglas after exhibiting a personal prowess that astonished both friend and enemy, experienced his usual evil fortune by being severely wounded and taken prisoner. Albany in the mean time had marched to the border at the head of fifteen thousand men, with the purpose of aiding the Percies: on hearing, however, of the defeat at Shrewsbury, he hastily retreated into Scotland.

The duke still continued that dark and selfish conduct which had hitherto characterised his public proceedings, and to strengthen himself in his future designs by the support of the chief nobles, he winked at their feuds and lawless excesses, and gratified them with lucrative crown rights and possessions. It seemed indeed to be his fixed purpose not only to usurp the whole power of the government, but the royal title also, and transmit the crown to his own children, instead of the family of his elder brother. The unhappy king felt his own helplessness; he appears to have foreseen this treacherous purpose; and while he wept over the recollection of the murdered Rothesay, he dreaded a similar



fate for his son James, Earl of Carrick, now heir to the throne, and only in his fourteenth year. To ensure him a better education than Scotland at that time could afford, but above all, to guard him from the machinations of his uncle, Robert resolved to send the young prince to the court of France. But although a truce subsisted between England and Scotland, the vessel in which he sailed was boarded by an English cruiser, and the prince and his attendants were carried prisoners to London, and committed to the Tower. This shameful violation of national faith was further aggravated by the heartless language of Henry IV., who, on being told that the prince was only repairing to France to be educated, and not from any hostile purpose against England, replied with a derisive smile, that as he was himself a thoroughly good French scholar, the youth could not have fallen into the hands of a better teacher. It was not gratuitously that Henry, a brave warrior as well as cautious sovereign, thus blotted his reputation, and provoked a new and deadly war with Scotland, while his throne was unsettled and his subjects discontented. A person who pretended to be, and who perhaps really was, Richard II., had been discovered lurking in Scotland, and Albany had taken him under his especial protection. As Henry knew that this formidable personage might at any time be brought forward against him by the Scottish governor, he had unscrupulously seized the means of retaliation against Albany, by having in his custody the lawful prince of Scotland.

The good Robert III. being thus so unexpectedly and cruelly bereaved of his only remaining son, was utterly overwhelmed, and after languishing for a short time in his palace of Rothesay, he expired on the 4th of April 1406, after a nominal reign of sixteen years. It is melancholy to think, that the gentle virtues in which he excelled, were so unfitted for the people he ruled, and that with fiercer and more remorseless qualities, he might have driven aside the calamities that made his reign worse than useless both to himself and the country, and have bequeathed his sceptre to those unfortunate children, of whom one was in a timeless grave, and the other in a distant prison. To his gentle qualities and social and domestic virtues, he added the most humble and unassuming piety, so that when his queen reproached him that he had not erected a monument for himself, as his father and grandfather had done, he replied, "You think not how little, a wretched worm, the vilest of sinners, should erect for himself such a tomb. Let those

do so who delight in the honours of the world. As for me, I would be gladly buried in the humblest shed, if I could thereby secure rest to my soul in the day of the Lord."

The affairs of Scotland, in which the late king had interposed so little, were not in the least degree affected by his decease; and the Parliament assembled upon the question of succession as a matter already settled. The right of the young Prince James, although a prisoner, was indefeasible, and therefore universally acknowledged: the Duke of Albany, who was next in succession to the prince, was, therefore, appointed to the regency. This title he might have converted into a higher, but for the haste by which he alarmed suspicion, and caused the heir to be conveyed beyond his reach. That heir was safer in the Tower of London than in the palace of his fathers, and thus the apparent misfortune of his captivity was in reality an important benefit. As for restoration to his country and his royal rights, that for the present was utterly hopeless. The new regent of Scotland, far from interposing for his release, would rather have used means for making his captivity perpetual; while the king of England, conscious of the influence he possessed in Scottish affairs, would not forego the advantage of holding such a prisoner. Henry, however, had begun to fulfil in earnest the promise he had made in jest, by procuring the best teachers in every department for his princely captive; and James soon acquired that learning and those accomplishments which were as yet rare in Scotland.

Although Albany appears, from his conduct at the head of armies, to have been essentially a coward, which was reckoned the deepest crime of that fierce age, and might have hurled him from his pre-eminence, yet he had craft enough to conceal his lack of courage under bold declarations and a gallant knightly demeanour. His general conduct, therefore, was so popular, both with the nobility and people, that his faults were undetected or passed over in silence. His first measures were both popular and prudent. He purchased the liberation of his ally the Earl of Douglas, who had been a prisoner to the king of England since the battle of Shrewsbury, not however without being obliged to send thirteen sons of the noblest houses of Scotland as hostages for the earl's return, should that be afterwards found necessary. He induced the Earl of March to return to his allegiance, by restoring to him his large border estates, which had been conferred upon his rival the Earl of Doug-

las. Thus, the borders being defended by the two wealthiest and bravest chiefs of the country, might be considered as well garrisoned against an English invasion. He also renewed the ancient league of Scotland with France, the court of that country recognising him as an unquestionable potentate. All political alliances being thus secured, he purchased the favour of the church by the sacrifice of a life, a price about which he seems to have never had any scruple. John Resby, an Englishman, and devoted Wyckliffite, had escaped the storm of persecution in his own country, and arrived in Scotland, where he preached the doctrines of the Reformation with such boldness and eloquence, that the clergy took the alarm, and clamoured for his punishment. The devoted Resby was accordingly delivered into their hands, and tried upon a charge of holding no less than forty heresies. It is no wonder that they were so many, as not only the errors of the church, but even the faults of its priesthood were fearlessly impugned. The result, as might be expected, was a sentence of death, and in 1407, not only this brave witness to the truth, but also his books and writings, were committed to the flames. But, like other martyrdoms, this not only impressed convictions upon his followers, but excited inquiry among the unenlightened, so that his death itself was a mighty living principle in the religious reformation of Scotland.

As the truce between England and Scotland had expired, war as usual was resumed between the two countries; but it was of too desultory a character to produce important results. The chief event by land was an effort to recover the castle of Jedburgh, which had remained in possession of the English since the battle of Durham. The walls were so strong, that the Teviotdale borderers, by whom they were assailed, could make no impression, so that at last it was resolved by the Scottish parliament, that a general effort should be made for the reduction of the castle. This could not be done without great expense, and it was resolved that this should be defrayed by a tax of two pennies upon every Scottish hearth. Here, however, the regent interposed, declaring that no such tax ever had been, or ought to be levied, and that whoever favoured it deserved the curses of the poor. He, therefore, paid the sum out of the royal treasury, and by this popular act purchased the applause of the whole nation. But the chief conflicts between the English and Scots had in the mean time been conducted by sea, upon which element the countries were already con-

tending for the mastery, and unconsciously developing the future great sources of British grandeur and supremacy. These engagements, however, were in themselves insignificant, and more of the nature of privateering, or even of piracy, than the national efforts of a naval people. The vessels were chiefly armed merchantmen fitted out by individuals, and when they met at sea, a trial of strength ensued, in which the weaker was boarded and plundered. Naval skirmishes of this kind had now begun to be of frequent occurrence. A most formidable opponent, who was at this time a thorn in the side of Scotland, was one Holder, an English freebooter and pirate, who occupied Fast Castle, an almost inaccessible fortress upon a high rock overlooking the German Ocean, from which he successfully sallied in quest of plunder both by land and sea. But at length he was driven from his place of strength by a son of the Earl of March. In 1410, also, an invasion of the Scottish coast was made by Sir Robert Umfraville, Vice-Admiral of England, who with ten ships entered the Forth, plundered the country of grain and other booty, and captured fourteen Scottish merchantmen.

A warfare, however, still more serious, as it was between subjects of the same crown, was renewed in Scotland between the Saxon and Celtic races for the superiority of the country. It originated in the claim of Donald Lord of the Isles to the earldom of Ross, which had been resigned by Euphemia its last inheretrix, on assuming the veil, to her uncle the Earl of Buchan. Donald opposed this alienation on the plea, that Euphemia, by becoming a nun, had no right to dispose of the family inheritance, as she from that moment became dead in law, in which case the property and rights descended to his wife Margaret as next of kin. The regent, however, confirmed the bequest of Euphemia, upon which Donald prepared not merely to seize the earldom, but to ravage Scotland itself to the centre. He accordingly landed his forces, and broke into Ross-shire, reducing the whole county into submission, and after reinforcing his army, already consisting of ten thousand men, at Inverness, he swept through Moray, Strathbogie, and Garvyach, vowing to lay waste the shores of Tay, and burn the town of Aberdeen. But brave as he was, he was met and encountered by a braver than himself, in Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, son of the Wolf of Badenoch, one whose history would form a singular volume of almost incredible adventures. In his earliest youth he had been a leader of

Highland caterans, and was a successful master of their wild mode of warfare: he then became an earl, by slaying the lord of Mar, and winning the hand of his widow; after which he adopted the life of a knight-errant, travelling Europe in quest of adventures, and signalling his prowess both in tournament and battle. And now, in his matured manhood, he had sat down in his earldom with the character of an able leader and wise statesman, while the excesses of his former life seemed to have dropped from him and disappeared, during the course of his singular career. But as war had approached his neighbourhood, he again buckled on his armour and rushed to the field. Having assembled a small but chosen force of the principal knights and barons of the nearest districts and their bravest military attendants, he advanced to the rescue of the threatened town, and found the enemy encamped at Harlaw. His followers were immensely outnumbered; it is even said, by ten to one; but in military skill, discipline, and arms, they were greatly superior to the Highlanders, whose weapons were nearly the same as those of their earliest ancestors. The battle was one of intense hatred between two such races, and with such a prize at stake. The Highlanders hewed with their heavy claymores and pole-axes, and yelled their piercing war-cries; while the Lowland warriors, covered in mail, and their breasts defended by steel-plated shields, encountered them with couched lances, two-handed swords and maces, spurred their horses against every opposition, and broke through or bore down the plaided enemy rank after rank. But the fierce and fearless courage of the Highlander under every disadvantage of weapons found them dreadful work, and whenever a breach was made by the onslaught of the Saxon men-at-arms, it was immediately stopped up by a crowd of devoted Celts. The war-horses of their assailants were gashed, and many of the riders torn from their falling saddles, and pierced through plate and mail. Five hundred Lowlanders thus fell beneath the prowess of the bold Islesmen, and at midnight, the Earl of Mar encamped his diminished forces upon the field of Harlaw, surrounded by the corpses of friend and enemy. But during the night, Donald and his army had retreated; and when the morning dawned, the still exhausted victors found themselves in possession of a battle-ground from which they had been too feeble to retreat. But the claymore had impressed its might so terribly upon the Lowland ranks, that their advantage was followed up with the utmost caution, and the

advances upon the Isles had to be slowly and circumspectly made, before Donald renounced the contested earldom, and acknowledged allegiance to the Scottish crown.

After this event, so dangerous to the safety of the country and progress of civilization, a peace with England was established for six years, and Albany negotiated earnestly for the release of his son Murdoch, who had been a prisoner in England since the battle of Shrewsbury. But Henry IV., who held the royal office, as Albany did his regency, by usurpation, was desirous of retaining his advantage over the latter, and therefore was in no haste to close the treaty. It is worthy of remark also, that during its progress the regent made no mention about the release of his nephew and sovereign, the young earl of Carrick. The English king died while the negotiation was pending, and was succeeded by his illustrious son Henry V., whose views upon the crown of France made him as anxious to hold Scotland in check as his father had been, and therefore Murdoch still remained a prisoner. In the mean time, as Albany grew older, his favourite aim of exalting his family by the exclusion of the lawful heir to the throne became more inordinate, so that he continued more than ever to bribe the nobility by extravagant grants at the expense of the crown, and privileges incompatible with the welfare of the people. At length, his earnest cultivation of peace with England, and suppression of border inroads, were rewarded according to his wish. Murdoch was exchanged in 1416, for young Henry Percie, son of the gallant Hotspur, who had found refuge in Scotland since the downfall of his family. During the same year also, James was about to be restored to his kingdom, and a treaty was entered into for that purpose, when all at once it was broken off. The cause of this termination is uncertain; but James believed that it originated in the selfish intrigues of his uncle, and he treasured up the remembrance for future retribution.

When the war between England and France commenced, in which Henry V. renewed the ambitious claims of Edward III. upon the French crown, Albany departed from his usual neutrality, by espousing the cause of France. The reason of this was obvious. He had recovered his son Murdoch, and it was his interest to continue the captivity of James, by a war that should prevent the frequent visits of the Scottish nobles to their sovereign in England. Thus war and peace, during his administration, had no higher source than his personal selfishness. He invaded England, and laid

siege to Roxburgh; but on the approach of an English army commanded by the Duke of Bedford, his heart failed, and he retreated with such haste, that his inroad was scornfully termed in Scotland, "the Foul Raid." The English retaliated by a campaign, in which they wasted the towns upon the Scottish border, and wrought fearful havoc in Teviotdale and Liddisdale. Soon after, the Duke of Albany sent seven thousand Scottish auxiliaries under the command of his second son, the Earl of Buchan, to the aid of the French king. But before these bold adventurers had an opportunity of exhibiting their prowess upon this new field, the career of the duke had reached its close, and he died at the palace of Stirling, on the 3d of September 1419, in the eightieth year of his age.

On the decease of the regent, his eldest son Murdoch, now Duke of Albany, was invested with the vacant dignity. But the new governor soon shewed himself unfit for the office, being weak, yielding, and indolent, so that the nobles, who already had acquired too much power under the conciliating rule of his father, now gave full scope to their ambition and lawlessness, oppressing the unhappy country, and rending it with feuds and dissensions. Such, indeed, became the condition of Scotland under this misrule, that all eyes were at last turned towards their lawful sovereign, and his liberation from captivity became the prevailing desire. Strange to say, even Murdoch himself in 1423, and after he had held his irksome office for four years, expressed his earnest assent to the national wish. He found his own family as ungovernable as the kingdom at large; and on one occasion, having refused to his son Walter a pet falcon, the latter fiercely snatched the bird from his father's wrist, and wrung its neck. "Walter," said the indignant parent, "since you will neither honour nor obey me, I will bring home one whom all of us must obey." After a long negotiation which he now heartily joined, and during which period Henry V. died in France in the midst of his conquests, the English regency whom he had appointed during the minority of his son, settled the terms of release with the commissioners sent from Scotland. By these it was agreed, that James, who owed no ransom for his liberty, having been captured during a truce, should pay forty thousand pounds sterling for the expenses of his maintenance and education in England, the sum to be paid by instalments during the course of six years; and that to make the peace between the two countries more effectual, he should espouse some

English lady of noble rank. The last part of the treaty was easily fulfilled, as during his imprisonment, he had fallen in love with Joanna Beaufort, the beautiful and accomplished daughter of the Earl of Somerset. The marriage was accordingly soon concluded, and James, accompanied by a splendid train of English nobles, returned to his native country after a long absence of twenty years, where he was received by his eager subjects with every expression of joyful welcome.

## CHAPTER XVI.

A. D. 1424 to A. D. 1437.

James I. crowned—His first Parliament—Execution of Murdoch and his family—Negociations with foreign courts—Rebellion of the Lord of the Isles subdued—Strict justice of James—Martyrdom of Paul Craw—Earldom of March suppressed—War with England—Conspiracy against the King—His assassination.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*King of England.*  
Henry VI.

*King of France.*  
Charles VII.

*Popes.*  
Martin V.  
Eugene IV.

### CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1423. Joan of Arc commences her victorious career against the English in France.
- 1436. John Guttenberg, supposed to be the Inventor of Printing, commences his labours in Germany.
- 1436. The French recover Paris from the English.

ON entering Scotland, James proceeded to Edinburgh, and was soon after crowned at Scone, on the 21st of May 1424. His character seemed to promise the introduction of a new era into the history of Scotland. Not only had his education been conducted in England, but at a period when English literature arose into life, and with a splendour by which the nineteenth century is enlightened; the works of Chaucer and Gower made him a poet of almost equal distinction; under Henry IV., and still more under his gallant successor, he had been trained not only in chivalrous exercises, but the science of war, and the duties of a skilful leader; and he had acquired those accomplishments which charm and refine a court, and soften the asperities of rank and power. It was of still higher import-



ance, that his knowledge of the government and laws of England, and their beneficial effects, suggested to him the most effectual methods of repressing the disorders of his kingdom, and restoring peace and order. Even this purpose he is said to have expressed as soon as he entered Scotland. When he learned more fully than he had hitherto done, the pride and turbulence of the nobles, and the contempt of law among all classes, he hastily exclaimed, "Let God but grant me life, and there shall not be a spot in my dominions where the key shall not keep the castle, and the furze-bush the cow, though I should lead the life of a dog to accomplish it!"

As the Scottish aristocracy were so powerful, it was necessary to proceed with caution, to prevent their taking alarm and flying into instant rebellion. His first care was to form in parliament the Lords of Articles, a body that should sit permanently, and deliberate upon the proposals submitted to them by the king, while the other members had retired to their estates. By this appointment he could rally round him a body of influential men capable of understanding and furthering his plans for the welfare of the kingdom. Laws were also passed at the first sitting of parliament, indicative of the master-spirit that now presided. A few of these can only be briefly alluded to, as illustrating the state of the country. All private wars among the nobility were forbid; their armed trains also, by which they set themselves above all law, were reduced within limits proportioned to their estates, and, in riding through the country, they were no longer, as they had been wont, to live at free quarters upon the people; while to insure the proper enforcement of these rules, justiciars were to be appointed in the principal districts, who should have power as well as authority to protect the interests of the commons. As "sturdy beggars" were numerous even at this early period, who compelled the charity of the industrious, and devoured the substance of the peasantry, they were prohibited from travelling in bands, and quartering themselves upon abbeys and houses, on pain of burning on the cheek and banishment. Mendicancy itself was only to be permitted to the "king's beggars," men attested by the magistrates to be incapable of supporting themselves, and furnished with a badge to that effect. As the crown lands, rents, and imposts had been so embezzled during the preceding regencies and the reign of Robert III., the great customs on merchandise were no longer to be held by private persons, but

by the king; and the alienation of the royal lands was to be strictly inquired into, with a view to their final settlement or resumption. Rules of taxation were also established for the necessary expenses of government, some of which indicate that ignorance upon the subject of taxes in general, which was common at the time to most of the governments of Europe. Having thus legislated for the internal peace of the realm, and the resources of the crown, provision was made for the military defence of the kingdom; and James, who had witnessed the training of the English yeomanry, and knew the deadly effect of their bows, ordained, that all his male subjects above the age of twelve should train themselves to the practice of archery under certain penalties, while to ensure the assembling of each district to such a practice, the favourite game of football was prohibited. Indeed, most of the statutes which were passed by the parliament, already flourished in full vigour in England, where James had marked their effects with careful attention.

The most powerful of the nobility appear to have been unconscious how greatly these laws tended to diminish their influence, and reduce them from absolute rulers into mere dependent subjects. Perhaps the impunity they had hitherto enjoyed made them regard these statutes as mere empty forms, which no one could have the hardihood of quoting to their prejudice, and accordingly they returned to their castles, to rule and tyrannise as before. But James, having strengthened himself with the alliance of the clergy, and a considerable portion of the nobility, proceeded to action eight months after, by summoning a parliament to meet at Perth on the 12th of March. Thither came many a lordly personage, who little thought, as he rode along in feudal pomp, that the journey was to terminate in a dungeon or upon the block. The first proceedings of the parliament were calculated to lull them into deeper security, for these only regarded the persecution of Lollards, the interests of the church, and the general preservation of order in the realm, upon which subjects eight days were spent in peaceful consultation. But, on the ninth, the purposes of the king descended like a thunderbolt. Murdoch the late regent, Alexander Stewart his son, and twenty-six nobles and barons, among whom were the powerful Earls of Douglas, Angus, and March, were arrested and thrown into prison, while the strongest fortresses, that might have held out for the captives, were seized and garrisoned by

the king. On the 24th of the following month, a court was held at Stirling for the trial of Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdoch, at which the king presided in person. The charge against this high noble was robbery, of which, strange to say, he was found guilty by the jury, and condemned to death, and the sentence was executed on the following day. On the day after came the trials of Murdoch himself, Alexander his second son, and the Earl of Lennox, father-in-law of the latter. Of the charges against them we are ignorant : it is probable that there had been enough in their proceedings during a lawless interregnum to make them amenable to that stern justice which was now set up. But revenge as well as justice seems to have animated the king against the whole house of Albany, by whom his iniquitous captivity had been prolonged, and his royal inheritance so miserably impoverished. These three were also sentenced to death, and executed upon the Heading Hill at Stirling, while the spectators shed tears, as they beheld the towering forms and princely bearing of Murdoch and his son, and the white hairs of Lennox, now eighty years old. Only one member of the doomed family remained—James, the youngest son of Murdoch, who fled first to the Highlands and afterwards to Ireland. But five of his followers were seized, and executed with such circumstances of cruelty as made even the people of that day shudder, for they were publicly torn to pieces by wild horses. After these terrible examples of the royal power to punish, the other nobles and barons who had been apprehended were set at liberty to ponder upon the warning. The parliament then continued the task of legislation, which chiefly concerned the cultivation of the soil, the military defence of the kingdom, the prosperity of commerce, and the administration of justice. It is melancholy, however, to notice, that their proceedings ended as they had commenced, with severe statutes against the Lollards ; and the clergy were invested with unlimited power in repressing the principles of Columba and Wyckliffe, and bringing their adherents to the stake.

After these events, James had several negotiations with foreign courts, which showed the importance that Scotland had already acquired in the politics of Europe. The first of these was with the court of France, in consequence of the birth of his daughter Margaret, which occurred in 1423. At this period, France was reduced to so low an ebb by the successes of the English, that she earnestly courted the alliance of the Scots, more especially after she had experienced their

valour in her behalf, under the Earls of Buchan and Douglas; and to draw the union closer between the two countries, an embassy was sent to Scotland in 1425, to negotiate a marriage between Louis, the French Dauphin, and the infant princess. It was agreed, that in five years a betrothment should take place, and Margaret be sent to France. James also sent an embassy to the Pope, the purposes of which cannot now be ascertained, although there is reason to suspect, that the suppression of Lollardism, which had already made considerable progress in Scotland, was the principal object. About the same time, an embassy arrived from Flanders, to treat of the restoration of the Scottish trade to their country, the staple of which, during the king's captivity had been removed to Zealand, in consequence of the hostilities of the Flemish cruisers. James, who earnestly desired to promote the national commerce, renewed it with Flanders, in consideration of an important increase being made in that country to the privileges of the Scottish merchants. The peace with England was also continued, so that he was enabled to prosecute that stern but necessary system of justice, and those measures for the establishment of order, which he had so much at heart.

One of these measures, and one of paramount importance, was the suppression of inroads and disorders from the Highlands; and for the purpose of quelling its lawless population, James held a parliament at Inverness, accompanied with such a military force as struck awe into the hearts of the mountain chiefs, who had hitherto been wont to set the royal authority at defiance. They tremblingly obeyed the summons to repair to his presence, and on their arrival at Inverness, he caused them, to the number of forty, to be bound and thrown into prison, soon after which the more guilty were brought to trial and executed. The rest were allowed to depart in safety, among whom was Alexander, Lord of the Isles, the successor of Donald, a powerful potentate, especially in ships, in which he resembled the ancient sea-kings of the north. This fierce chief, more indignant at his confinement, although richly merited by his numerous hostilities, than grateful for his release, mustered ten thousand men after the king's departure, wasted the country, and destroyed the town of Inverness. James hurried back to quell this formidable disturber of the peace, and encountered him at Lochaber with such vigour and skill, that the islesmen were quickly routed. Alexander then sent an embassy to the king, to treat on terms of peace; but the latter was so

indignant at the islander's presumption in thus assuming the privileges of an independent sovereign, that on his return to Edinburgh, he caused the pursuit after Alexander to be prosecuted with the utmost keenness. Hunted at last like a wild beast from every hiding-place, and weary of standing at bay, Alexander was obliged not only to humble himself into a subject, but an abject suppliant. He suddenly entered the church of Holyrood in Edinburgh, before the king, queen, and court, upon a solemn religious festival, and wearing nothing but his shirt and drawers; and falling on his knees before the king, he presented to him a naked sword which he held in his hand, in token that he gave himself wholly up to the royal mercy. He was spared, and sent to confinement in Tantallon Castle; but in little more than a year after, he was set at liberty, and restored to his lands and possessions.

Notwithstanding this submission and helpless incarceration, the excesses of the wild islesmen were soon renewed. While their chief was still in Tantallon, they broke out into fresh insurrection under Duncan Balloch, a near relation of the Lord of the Isles, who proposed to annihilate the shame of his feudal sovereign, as well as avenge his wrongs. He was soon at the head of a fierce array of plaided warriors, with which he broke into Lochaber like a whirlwind, and at Inverlochy attacked a force superior to his own, under the Earls of Mar and Caithness. The last-named leader and sixteen of his bravest mailed attendants, as well as many knights and barons, in spite of their good armour, were struck down and slain by the two-handed sword and battle-axe, while Mar himself was glad to retreat with the remains of his Lowland chivalry. But Balloch, instead of being able to follow up his success, was obliged to content himself with the plunder of Lochaber, with which he retired to the Isles, and afterwards to Ireland. On hearing of this new insurrection, James was instantly in motion; and on reaching Dunstaffinch Castle, he was waited upon by a crowd of Celtic chieftains, who had joined in the rebellion of Duncan, but who now trembled at the king's well-known strictness, and humbly implored forgiveness. Their success in the pursuit of the evil-doers of their race, was the stipulated price of their pardon; and through their aid, three hundred of the most incorrigible Highland offenders were quickly apprehended, and sent to execution. The head of Duncan Balloch himself soon after arrived, having been

sent as a gift to James by the Irish prince in whose territories Duncan had taken shelter.

We turn from these military incidents to the civil events in the government of the reign of James I., although they are perhaps equally startling. They exhibit a fearless king animated by a remorseless feeling of justice, and resolved to execute it in the midst of a lawless society, let the consequences be what they might. For a considerable period, the court of Scotland had been in a state of barbarous coarseness and disorder, and one purpose of the king was to restore it to that dignity, without which royalty itself must sink into contempt. His method to accomplish this, which the wild state of society seemed urgently to demand, was in character with his other proceedings. On one occasion, a nobleman of high rank, and also a near kinsman of his own, having quarrelled in the court with a young baron, so far forgot the royal presence, as to strike his opponent on the face. James instantly caused him to be apprehended, ordered him to stretch upon the council-table the hand that had dealt the blow, and then putting a naked cutlass into the hand of the injured baron, he commanded him on pain of death to hew off the offending member from the wrist. The new executioner shuddered and grew powerless; the culprit remained trembling for a full hour, with his bared arm upon this strange block; and it was only after the queen, her ladies, and the clergy present, had knelt and wearied themselves with supplication, that James would remit the penalty. But even then, the culprit did not wholly escape, for he was banished from the court whose sanctity he had so rudely violated.

Another case showed his readiness to do justice to the poor, when oppressed by the rich and powerful. In the Highlands, one of those lawless chieftains with which that part of the realm abounded, had carried off two cows belonging to a poor woman. She threatened him with the king's displeasure, and on vowing that she would never put off her shoes until she had presented her complaint to the sovereign in person, he savagely exclaimed, "That is false! I will myself have you shod, before you can reach the court." He then actually fastened two horse shoes to her feet with nails driven into the flesh, and threw her out into the highway, to prosecute the threatened journey as she best could. The poor woman, after having been recovered from her wounds by the kind neighbours who found her, repaired to the king, told him her piteous tale, and showed her feet

still seared with red and deep scars. James instantly caused the ruffian to be apprehended and sent to Perth, where the court was then held. The trial was brief, and his punishment terrible. He was clothed in a linen shirt, on which was painted a rude likeness of his crime, paraded through the streets for the derision of the multitude, and finally dragged at the tail of a horse to the gallows, and there hanged.

Soon after the rebellion of the Lord of the Isles and his adherents had been suppressed, a conflict of a very different character, but fraught with more important consequences to the country than mere civil broils and military victories, succeeded. It arose from Lollardism, which amidst all these national struggles and changes, was silently and slowly expanding into the future great subject of national debate. We have already made brief mention of John Resby, who for his adherence to the doctrines of the reformation, as taught by Wyckliffe, was burnt at Perth in 1407. Twenty-six years had now elapsed since this cruel martyrdom; but instead of extinguishing the obnoxious opinions, it only made them the subjects of deeper and more solemn inquiry, as well as more general discussion, so that several persons had become devoted to the creed of Resby, and were ready, if necessary, to follow his glorious example. While such was the state of religious feeling, Paul Craw, a Bohemian physician, who had imbibed in his own country the doctrines of Wyckliffe, as taught by John Huss, arrived in Scotland, and began to propound them not only with an accurate and extensive knowledge of Scripture; but with strong and persuasive eloquence. The consequence of his earnest but unobtrusive teaching was, that he made many proselytes. Even this perhaps might have been tolerated by the priesthood, had it not been for that part of his sentiments which tended to strip them of their wealth and power, and reduce them to the humble condition of the apostles. He taught, that the Bible should be put into the hands of the people, instead of being confined to the clergy; that priests who offended against the civil law, should be amenable to the civil magistrate; that confession to them in the hope of absolution was superfluous, as God alone could forgive sin; that such an intermediate place for the soul as purgatory, had no existence; and that there was no need of such a pompous and mysterious ritual as was used in the Lord's Supper, seeing there was no transformation of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ,

but simply, a commemoration of his death and the redemption it purchased. These were sentiments that struck a death-blow at the hierarchy, and Craw was arrested. There was little hope here of the king's interposition in behalf of the true cause, and the right-hearted intrepid stranger. During his residence in England, James had been accustomed to hear the Lollards identified, though most unjustly, with the worst of the popular commotions that had occurred since the reign of Richard II., so that he regarded them not merely as heretics but as rebels. In his education also, he had been taught to consider the papal Christianity as the only source, not merely of individual salvation, but of national safety and order; and since his return to Scotland, he had studied to counterpoise the fierce despotism of the nobles, with the spiritual authority of the church, as impersonated in the priesthood. Thus the doom of Craw was already sealed. He was tried by the Abbot of Lindores, the same judge who had tried and executed Resby; and after an eloquent vindication of his doctrines, in which he was brow-beaten but not refuted by the clerical court, the righteous foreigner was sentenced to die, and committed to the flames.

Such was the situation of Scotland at this time, in common with many of the kingdoms of Europe. Unconsciously to sovereigns and rulers, a power was silently growing, under which their measures were to be reversed, and their very thrones overwhelmed or shaken to the centre, and through which society was to assume a new character, and be governed by corresponding systems of politics. But James, who as well as his brother kings was unable to anticipate such a wondrous futurity, saw in George Earl of March, a more formidable antagonist than the martyred Paul Craw, or even Wyckliffe himself, had he risen from the dead. This nobleman was the son of that earl who on being disappointed in the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of Rothesay, had transferred his allegiance to England, and been as successful a leader as his great adversary, Douglas the Tyneman, had been the reverse. He had been the chief cause of the defeat of his countrymen at Homildon; and afterwards, by following Henry IV. to Shrewsbury, he had greatly contributed to the victory over the united ranks of Hotspur and Douglas: in short, wherever he confronted his rival he was successful, which gained him the appellation of the Win-man. In 1408, he had returned to Scotland, and been restored to his possessions; and there he dwelt quietly till his death, which occurred in 1420. His son George who succeeded him, was a safer and more peaceful subject



than the father ; but the king had probably calculated the dangerous position of the earldom, more than the character of him who held it. It had been the boast of its proud chiefs, that by the possession of Dunbar and the neighbouring marches, they carried the keys of Scotland at their belt ; and this was no vain boast, as they could further or retard an invasion of either kingdom at pleasure. James had carefully pondered this circumstance, as well as the hitherto precarious allegiance of the Earls of March, with the resolution of reducing a power so dangerous to the safety of the whole kingdom. He accordingly assembled a parliament in 1434, and laid before them for consideration the forfeiture of the former Earl of March in consequence of his rebellion, but which forfeiture had been reversed by the Duke of Albany, on the earl's return to Scotland. The parliament, after a careful investigation of the whole subject, decreed, that while the former earl had been justly dispossessed, the regent had no lawful authority to reinstate him ; and that therefore the forfeited earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar reverted to the crown. This was a sweeping sentence, from which, however, there was no appeal ; and although the king endeavoured to soften it, by conferring upon the now landless noble the title of Earl of Buchan, and an annual revenue of four hundred merks, yet the latter, bidding adieu to the kingdom in which his fathers had ruled as princes, retired with his eldest son to England. The reduction of so great a family, and the growing authority of the king, struck such alarm and indignation into the Scottish lords, that they whispered their suspicions to each other, and waited the opportunity of revenge. Unhappily for the country, that opportunity soon arrived, and was eagerly embraced.

The English government, occupied with their wars in France during the minority of Henry V., as well as with quarrels and divisions among their own members, had felt the necessity of preserving peace with Scotland, which even the betrothment of James's daughter to the Dauphin of France shortly after her birth, had not tended to interrupt ; and accordingly a truce had subsisted between the two countries since the commencement of the present reign. But in 1434, a border inroad on the part of England was made by an irruption of Sir Robert Ogle into Scotland, who crossed the borders at the head of a strong military array, and advanced to Peperden. Here, however, he was met by the Earl of Angus, and so completely routed, that nearly

all his followers were taken prisoners. James heavily complained to the English council of this breach of the peace, and demanded satisfaction; but the English council, perhaps employed with more perplexing matters at home, threw aside his application. Soon after this, his daughter Margaret having reached her tenth year, was to be sent to France, according to the marriage treaty; and she set sail with a numerous and splendid train to fulfil the stipulated union. But the movements of the Scottish convoy prepared for this purpose had been calculated and watched by the English government, and in spite of the peace that still subsisted, they sent out a strong force to intercept the princess. The progress of this English fleet was a strange forerunner of future naval achievements. While they watched for the coming of the Scottish ships as they had been commanded, they were suddenly allured by the sight of a multitude of Flemish merchant vessels, freighted chiefly with wine. These they forthwith attacked and captured; but scarcely had they broached a single cask of their plunder, when they were themselves attacked by a Spanish fleet, and chaced into safe harbourage, leaving their Flemish captures in the hands of the victors, while the Scottish ships reached Rochelle, undisturbed by these various movements. James was naturally indignant at this attempt on his daughter's freedom in a time of peace, which resembled so much his own iniquitous capture by Henry IV.; and accordingly he proclaimed war against England, assembled a formidable army, and proceeding to the border, laid siege to Roxburgh. But when the castle was on the point of surrendering, the queen suddenly arrived in the camp, and was closeted with her husband; and very soon after, James raised the siege, dismissed his army, and hurried like a defeated invader into the heart of his kingdom. It is probable that his partner had come to apprise him of some deep conspiracy already commenced among his nobles, and that James no longer felt himself safe in the midst of an army, the chief leaders of which were connected with the traitors.

A conspiracy had indeed been formed, under which he was doomed to perish. At the head of it was Sir Robert Graham, Walter Stewart, Earl of Athol, son of King Robert II, and Sir Robert Stewart, grandson of the earl, and favourite chamberlain of the king. The soul of the conspiracy was Graham, a man learned in civil law, and possessed of persuasive eloquence, but of a temper as savage as it was fearless,—uniting with it a relentlessness that never lost

sight of revenge, as well as a deep craft, that selected the best opportunity to gratify it. Such were too often the characters of that age,—the fruits of an imperfect learning, engrafted upon a debased Christianity. A man like this was well fitted to win associates, and mould them to his purpose. On the king's accession, Graham had been imprisoned with the other adherents of the family of Albany, but had afterwards with the rest been set at liberty. This injury had keenly rankled in his mind; but another almost drove him to madness. It was the bereavement of his nephew of the earldom of Strathearn by the king, who had resumed it upon the plea, that Albany had no right to allow its transference through a female line, and that being a male inheritance, and having had for its last male heir a son of Robert II., it therefore reverted to himself. Graham volunteered to bring the dangerous question before the parliament, while a number of the nobles agreed to support him; but his speech, though eloquent, was so daring and treasonable, that his promised supporters sat silent, while the king, starting from his seat, ordered the bold speaker into instant confinement, and soon after sentenced him to confiscation and banishment. Graham fled to the Highlands, from which he sent a letter to the king, renouncing his allegiance, and defying him as a mortal enemy, upon whom he would inflict his worst; after which, he seems to have considered himself free to carry his threats into execution. Having secured the co-operation of the Earl of Athol and his grandson, Graham descended from the Highlands, and stole into Perth, where the king and court were to hold Christmas at the monastery of Black Friars. The festival went on joyously and without suspicion, when upon the night appointed, and as James was about to retire to rest, the monastery was suddenly surrounded with the clash of arms and the glare of torches: door after door flew open before the rush of the conspirators, who that evening had secretly caused the locks and bolts to be injured or removed. In a moment the king saw his danger, and tried to elude it. As there was no private egress, his only hope of concealment was in the chamber; and commanding the queen's ladies to interpose as much delay as possible, he wrenched up one of the boards of the floor, let himself down into a vault beneath, and replaced the covering of the aperture, so that he was effectually concealed. Graham and his ruffians having swept away every obstacle, rushed towards the king's bed-chamber, the door of which the queen and her maids endeavoured to

secure, when, finding the bar removed, Catherine Douglas nobly thrust her arm into the staple; but that fair and frail defence was snapped in an instant, and the assassins entered. They gazed in astonishment at finding no trace of the king; they pried into every place that could give concealment, but in vain; and concluding that their victim had found refuge elsewhere, they dispersed themselves over the building. All again was quiet, and James, imagining that they had left the monastery, endeavoured with the help of the ladies to ascend from his hiding-place. But an accident that betrayed his concealment brought back the conspirators, and one by one they prepared to descend into the vault, armed with long knives. The king, although unarmed and nearly naked, made a terrible struggle for life, and almost strangled the first two that descended, notwithstanding the gashes inflicted by their weapons. Graham, who was a powerful man, then went down, and threw himself upon his now exhausted victim, who entreated for mercy, but was only answered with contempt. "At least," said James, who saw that his last hour was come, "let me have a confessor for the good of my soul." "No confessor shalt thou have but this good sword," cried the stern conspirator, striking down the king with a mortal wound; and while the latter still faintly prayed for mercy, the two whom James had nearly strangled, fell upon him, and put an end to his sufferings.

While this hideous act was perpetrating, the queen, although wounded by one of the savages during the confusion of their entrance, had escaped from the monastery; and as the townsmen had taken the alarm, and girded on their armour, the conspirators fled out of Perth, and escaped into the neighbouring Highlands. There, however, even the dark dens and caves could not shelter them; for such was the fierce eagerness of the queen, and the all-pervading hue and cry after the murderers, that the chief actors were discovered in their lairs, dragged down to Edinburgh, and summarily tried and executed. The tortures inflicted upon Graham were so frightful, that even his iron nerves and yet stronger resolution gave way, so that he warned the tormentors in a low voice of almost unearthly anguish, that if his sufferings maddened him into blasphemy and the denial of his God, the guilt would be theirs of having destroyed his soul.—Was there at that moment a sudden ringing in his ears of the king's dying entreaty for a confessor, and his own merciless reply?

Such was the end of James I., cut off in the prime of

manhood, for he was only in the forty-fourth year of his age. Few of the sovereigns of that period had undergone such a severe noviciate in the art of reigning, or had reigned so wisely and well. He entered his dominions from a distant prison, with the avowed resolution of making the bush keep the cow; but to effect a purpose apparently so simple, much was to be done from which ordinary minds would have recoiled. The nobility who had made themselves independent of the crown, and who pillaged and oppressed the country at pleasure, were to be coerced into subjects and auxiliaries of regal authority; and law, hitherto scorned by the powerful, and consequently hated by the oppressed, because the latter derived nothing from it but the oppression of power, was to be restored to its impartial and universal pre-eminence. But to accomplish such an important event, which was not only a national revolution, but the most difficult of all revolutions, it was necessary that he, a limited and impoverished successor to the throne, should acquire the mastery over those powerful chiefs by whom his plans were thwarted and his authority defied. And this he could only do by the resumption of those crown lands and dotations which had been so extravagantly signed away since the reign of Robert II. This perilous task he attempted bravely and honestly, and even prudently, but still with less prudence than such a change demanded; and he perished in one brief hour in the midst of his heroic endeavours, by means and from a quarter upon which he had not calculated.

The other plans of James I. for the welfare of Scotland, were equally heroic and self-denying. To improve the agriculture of his breadless country, and thus enlarge the means of subsistence; to provide for the military defence of Scotland, exposed as it was to the invasions of a far more powerful kingdom; and to raise a third estate from among the middle classes, by which the lower orders of society should be elevated, and the proud aristocracy duly restrained, were the generous aims of James, and in the accomplishment of which he justly saw more glory, as well as real utility, than could ever be reaped from the battle-field. But for the accomplishment of such results the time was too early, and his labours were therefore examples for posterity, rather than plans that could be immediately put in action. Still, however, his reign was in the highest degree beneficial for Scotland, and those lessons which he could do little more than bequeath to his successors, were realised, although

slowly, by succeeding generations. While his memory was affectionately cherished, his wise rules of government were not forgotten.

## CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1436 to A.D. 1460.

**Minority of James II.**—Livingston and Crichton usurp the Government—Their harsh treatment of the Queen—Earl of Douglas beheaded—His successor's ambition—Marriage of James II.—He breaks the power of Livingston—Assassinates the Earl of Douglas—Revolts of the Douglasses—James II. lays siege to Berwick—Is killed at the siege.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*England.*

Henry VI.

*France.*

Charles VII.

*Popes.*

Eugene IV.

Nicholas V.

Calixtus III.

Pius II.

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

1440. Printing invented by Guttenberg.

1453. Constantinople taken by the Turks.

1459. Engraving on copper invented.

THE untimely death of James I., and the infancy of his son and successor James II., who when crowned at the abbey of Holyrood after his father's assassination, was only six years old, gave, in such a period of transition, the promise of a long minority, from which the utmost danger was to be dreaded. Indeed, the first proceedings of the parliament were sufficiently ominous, by the appointment of Sir William Crichton to the office of chancellor and the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, and Sir Alexander Livingston of Calender to the guardianship of the young sovereign. Both were men of great ability, whose talents the late sovereign had discovered and brought into action; but they were also selfish and ambitious characters, animated with mutual rivalry and hatred. From such a regency nothing but dissension and civil commotion could be apprehended. A third power, indeed, and one that might have been greatly superior to the other two, was established in the person of Archibald, fifth Earl of Douglas, and Duke of Touraine in France, who was appointed

to the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. It may be asked, why the amiable and accomplished queen was omitted in the partition of power, and the superintendence of her own child? The latter office, it is true, was assigned to her, until the boy-sovereign had attained his majority; but the manner in which she was speedily dispossessed of this maternal office, forms a revolting episode in the history of the period, the particulars of which we connect together and relate before touching on the political events that intervened.

The queen-mother, who had established for her son a residence in the castle of Edinburgh, soon found that Crichton, its governor, had become his chief guardian, under which character he not only hindered her from access to the young king, but embezzled the royal revenues. It was necessary to remove her child from such keeping; and accordingly she had him dexterously removed in a chest, along with some luggage, to Leith, from which port he was securely transported by water to Stirling Castle, at that time under the command of Livingston, in whom she placed entire confidence. Livingston, to punish the pride of Crichton, levied forces, and laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh; but a reconciliation soon took place between these ambitious rivals, to which the interests both of the young king and his mother were unscrupulously sacrificed. In fact, the queen was little more than the prisoner of Livingston, whom she had so implicitly trusted; and probably for the purpose of obtaining a lawful protector from his tyranny, she secretly married Sir James Stewart, commonly called the Black Knight of Lorn. Livingston, furious at a step undertaken without his privacy, threw Sir James and his brother into a dungeon in Stirling Castle, where they were treated with almost inquisitorial torture. His next act was to seize the queen, who then resided in the castle; and accordingly he rushed into her chamber at the head of an armed band, dispersing and wounding her servants who opposed his entrance, and shut her up in an apartment over which he placed a guard. The usual humiliation of a captive sovereign followed. She was obliged to give up to Livingston the entire guardianship of her son, the keeping of Stirling Castle which had been assigned to her, and her annual allowance of four thousand merks; to express concord and friendship towards the tyrant who had imprisoned her; to consent that none should wait upon her but such as he recommended; and that she should have

access to her son only in the presence of witnesses. This strange humiliation too was not made in a mere personal interview with her oppressor, but before an assemblage of nobles, prelates, and burgesses assembled at Stirling, who arrogated to themselves the title of the Three Estates. We can only imagine, in such an odious instance of injustice and oppression, that these men united to the selfish feelings of a faction, their long-established hatred of the English, and their brutal contempt of a woman's helplessness so much in accordance with that iron age.

Thus the government of the kingdom was virtually under the control of two ambitious barons; for Douglas, although immeasurably their superior both in rank and power, and armed with the state sword, appears to have interfered little with politics; and his death, which happened soon after, removed all chance of an arbitrator in the quarrels of his colleagues. This event, and a nine years' truce with England, was eagerly embraced by the two parties to wage their contest for the superiority. The first movement was on the part of Crichton, who envied Livingston the possession of the young sovereign, a seal of authority which he resolved to have in his own keeping. He therefore stole with a large party to the neighbourhood of Stirling Castle while Livingston was absent, and succeeded in surprising the helpless boy, whom he carried in triumph to the castle of Edinburgh. Livingston commenced a regular siege for the repossession of his ward, and a civil war was on the eve of breaking out, when mutual friends interposed, by whom a reconciliation between the angry rivals was effected, and James restored to his former keeper.

Such a union would have been brief, had not a new power appeared under which both competitors were likely to be soon overshadowed. This was William, sixth Earl of Douglas, and Duke of Touraine in France, whose estates were provinces, whose military retainers were numbered by thousands, and whose youth, for he was only seventeen years old, gave full opportunity to his numerous allies of perpetrating every species of oppression under the sanction of his name. The distant roar of the coming lion suspends every forest conflict in an instant, and it is no wonder therefore if such cunning politicians as Crichton and Livingston threw down their weapons, and became cordial friends and coadjutors. It was only to procure the destruction of this new and dangerous potentate under whom they must otherwise perish themselves. As open force was in-



adequate for such a deed, they resolved to have recourse to craft and treachery, and the unsuspecting young Earl was surrounded by spies, who reported to their employers all his proud and treasonable conversations. When the time was ripe for his destruction, he was respectfully invited to court, under the pretext of having every misunderstanding betwixt himself and the government removed, and enjoying full opportunity of cultivating a personal acquaintance with his sovereign. Douglas set off without suspicion, accompanied by his younger brother David, and on arriving at Edinburgh, he was courteously received into the castle by Livingston, and sumptuously entertained. Several days thus went onward, during which the victims were lulled into security, and allowed free intercourse with James, who formed a strong attachment to the gallant youthful earl. But the deeply studied tragedy was soon hastened to its crisis. On the day appointed, while the youths were seated at a banquet with Livingston and Crichton, a band of armed men rushed in, and arrested them as traitors; and while James himself clung to Crichton, and implored for their lives, he was sternly commanded to be silent, and no longer waste his supplications for those who would be dangerous to his throne. A hurried trial followed, at which the king was compelled to be present, sentence of death was pronounced, and the two unfortunate youths were straightway conveyed to the back court of the castle, and there beheaded. The apathy with which this deed was regarded by the proud house thus bereaved of its chief, was more wonderful than the deed itself: not a sword was drawn, not a hand raised, not a remonstrance uttered. James, surnamed the Gross, Earl of Avendale, and grand-uncle to the murdered youths, entered quietly into their titles and possessions, and became the fast friend and ally of the murderers. His indifference was supposed to proceed from that peculiarity through which he obtained his surname—a fatness which was marvellous in a Scot of that time, but still more in a Douglas. And yet, might it not be that he reconciled himself to an event which had thus suddenly procured him such a splendid succession?

It was not long however that Scotland was to rejoice in the possession of such a peaceable Douglas. James the Gross died, and was succeeded by his son William, in whom were concentrated much of the talent, and all the pride and ambition of the family. Already possessed of all but sovereign power, he seemed to aim at the entire government of

the kingdom, and thus Livingston and Crichton found themselves confronted by a more formidable Douglas than the one they had removed. The course pursued by each therefore was to pay court to the new magnate, in the hope of securing his influence for the destruction of the other. In the mean time, amidst such selfishness of the rulers, the country was torn asunder by feuds and conflicts among the nobles, in which as much blood was unprofitably shed as might have won a second Bannockburn. During these fierce commotions that everywhere prevailed, Douglas, after hesitating between the two great rivals, threw himself into the scale of Livingston, in consequence of which the overmatched Crichton fortified himself within the castle of Edinburgh, and there bade defiance to his enemies. He was closely besieged by their united forces, and compelled to surrender; but even then, such was his influence and dexterity, that he contrived to make his peace both with Douglas and Livingston, by whom he was restored to his former power.

In the mean time, the Earl of Douglas, who had never lost sight of his favourite object, the possession of supreme authority, resolved to accomplish it by powerful alliances. He therefore formed a league offensive and defensive with the Earl of Crawford, and Alexander Lord of the Isles, in which they united themselves against the hostility of all men, not even excepting that of their sovereign himself. Thus the youthful king was opposed by a coalition of the most powerful noblemen in the state, each of whom reckoned himself a match for royalty, while the chief friends upon whom he could place any reliance were Kennedy bishop of St Andrews, and the questionable Crichton. But James, although only in his seventeenth year, showed already a courage and sagacity worthy of his noble parentage. He cultivated carefully the peace that subsisted with England, renewed the national league with France, and affianced himself to Mary, only daughter of the rich and powerful duke of Gueldres. Thus cautiously was he strengthening himself against that formidable union of his nobles, with which, sooner or later, an encounter was inevitable. These movements however were carefully watched by Douglas, who resolved to counteract them by involving the country in a war with England. Fierce border incursions therefore speedily commenced, that soon led to the battle of Sark, in which four thousand Scots completely defeated six thousand English. Happily, both countries soon became weary of such an unprofitable warfare, and especially England, which daily and hourly was losing

the fair possessions it had achieved by the conquest of France. After the battle of Sark therefore, no attempt to continue hostilities seems to have been made on either side. Mary of Gueldres arrived in Scotland with a splendid train on the 18th of June 1449, and her marriage with James II. king of Scotland was celebrated with abundance of feasts, masques, and tournaments. Yet one accompaniment of these regal splendours was enough to overcast them with an ominous shade. It was the Earl of Douglas, who presided over these military pageants as lord-lieutenant of the kingdom, and whose attendants on this joyous occasion consisted of five thousand men.

But James was now ready to turn upon his oppressors, and the first of these were the Livingstons, who had joined the coalition of Douglas, in the hope of thus escaping the punishment they had so richly merited. Their chief and his accomplices were thrown into prison, and their places of strength seized and garrisoned by the king. The family was then brought to trial before the parliament, and Sir Alexander Livingston, its head, was arraigned for attacking and imprisoning the queen ten years before, an act declared to be treasonable, for which his estates were confiscated, and himself sentenced to imprisonment, while a still heavier punishment fell upon his coadjutors. The next proceeding of the king was against Douglas himself, whom he had cautiously hoodwinked and soothed while he reduced the Livingstons; and he undermined the power of this arrogant chief so silently, and yet so effectually, that the latter no longer finding himself the sole umpire in national affairs, was eager to leave a country in which he had a superior. He therefore found it necessary to go abroad for a season, and display his grandeur in other countries, where his feudal pomp and rude northern style of living astonished the people of France and Italy as a strange relic of ancient barbarism. In the midst of his princely tour however, he was obliged to hurry back to Scotland, in consequence of the excesses into which his family had fallen, of which he was suspected, and probably not without reason, of having been the cause, through the private instructions he had given them at his departure. On his return, the king received him with wonted frankness, and restored him to all his high offices. But the earl, who had lost none of his ambition, not only renewed his treasonable alliance with the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles, but also connected himself with the Yorkists of England, who were plotting the dethronement

of Henry VI. their sovereign. James, who was now twenty-one years old, had been trained in a stern school, and was ready to confront this emergency. Aware of the infamous league between the earl and the other hostile parties, and harassed by his despotic and sanguinary deeds, which rivalled those of a tyrant-king, he resolved to hold a personal conference with Douglas at Stirling, in the hope of persuading him to abandon his alliances. He accordingly sent a friendly invitation to the earl, which the latter accepted with every appearance of unsuspecting frankness. The meeting took place at the castle of Stirling; and such was their mutual satisfaction in the interview, that on the following day, Douglas was invited to dine with his sovereign, in full assurance of peace and friendship. So harmonious was that banquet, that after dinner they supped, and at the conclusion of the hospitable meal, the king took Douglas aside into an inner chamber. Here it was that the business of their meeting commenced. James remonstrated upon the earl's late tyrannous proceedings, by which certain men of rank and worth had perished, and then proceeded to shew his knowledge of the other's league with Crawford and the Lord of the Isles, accompanied with a request, that such a treasonable compact should be dissolved. The earl was astonished at such an unexpected demand, and made a fierce reply; he followed it with an equally fierce refusal; upon which the king in a sudden transport of rage exclaiming, "False traitor! if thou wilt not break the band, this shall," plucked out his dagger, and gave the earl two hasty stabs; after which, some of the royal attendants rushed in, and showed their zeal by completing the deed, so that the body of Douglas was mangled with twenty-six wounds.

This was a foul and inhospitable act, and the only hope we can form of it is, that it was wholly unpremeditated: it was the destruction of a tyrant it is true, but by an act of most infamous tyranny, which has for ever cast an indelible blot upon the reputation of James II. Whatever may have been the repentance or regret of the king, he hastened to avail himself of the deed by sharing the traitor's lands among his own adherents, and giving the Earl of Huntly a commission to suppress the Earl of Crawford and the Lord of the Isles. The first of these nobles, called from his ferocity the Tiger-earl, was put to the rout on a moor near the town of Brechin; but the other adherents of the Douglas family rose in such force, that the whole country was involved in strife and bloodshed. Every district was now covered, not

with industrious peasants, but armed banditti, and every highway was converted into a pass of danger, while James, the next Earl of Douglas, furious at the death of his brother, intrigued with the Yorkists of England against his own country and sovereign. In consequence of these events, the king convoked a parliament, which met on the 12th of June 1452. At this meeting, the assassination of the late Earl of Douglas was declared a lawful act, on the ground that he was a traitor; and the forfeited lands of the family and their allies were bestowed upon the king's best adherents, an event that strengthened the cause of royalty against the powerful host of defaulters. The king was thus enabled, at the head of thirty thousand men, to march into the heart of those districts where the Douglasses held the sway of kings, and the new head of the race was compelled to sue for pardon, which he only obtained by entire submission, and upon the most humbling conditions.

It was not easy however by any stipulations to bind a man so ambitious and unprincipled as the Earl of Douglas: he soon resumed his old plans of aggrandisement, and renewed his treasonable intrigues with the Yorkists of England. But the king, who was aware of these movements, advanced against him in such force, that the earl's strongholds were taken, his allies defeated, and himself obliged to escape at midnight even from his encampment to elude the royal vengeance. He re-appeared in Annandale, no longer however at the head of his disciplined retainers whom the king had defeated and scattered, but of a rabble-rout of desperadoes and outlaws, and was encountered so vigorously by the royal forces, that his miscellaneous army was quickly broken and dispersed, and himself obliged to fly for shelter to the fastnesses of Argyleshire. After this defeat, a parliament was assembled, by which the earl and his abettors were proclaimed traitors, and their possessions forfeited to the crown. Douglas at last fled to England, where he laboured to stir up a war between the two countries, in which, but for the prudence and forbearance of James, he would in all likelihood have succeeded. The king being thus rid of so turbulent a rival, pursued his judicious purposes of legislation, and wise laws were enacted in parliament for the internal peace of the country, as well as its defence against English invasion, and for repairing the revenues and strengthening the authority of the crown.

For a considerable period the state of England had been very fluctuating and precarious, a circumstance that had a

material effect on the politics of Scotland and the proceedings of its king. It will be remembered that Henry IV., son of the Duke of Lancaster, had ascended the throne of England by the deposition of his sovereign Richard II. His talents secured the rich prize his rebellion had won, while the splendid victories of his son and successor Henry V., seemed to perpetuate the ascendancy which his father had bequeathed. But affairs altered under Henry VI., during whose minority France was lost, and who on attaining the age of manhood exhibited a gentle imbecility altogether unsuited to an English sovereign. It was then that the Duke of York, the descendant of an elder branch of the royal house than that of Lancaster, began to put forth his hereditary claim to the crown, and in consequence of the king's incapacity he had been promoted to the regency in 1454. It was after this event that Douglas arrived in England, and although a truce existed between the two countries, he made every effort to collect forces, that he might invade Scotland, and repossess himself of his estates. Being joined by the Earl of Northumberland, he crossed the border in 1457, and commenced a furious career of havoc in Berwickshire, until he was met, routed, and chased into England by the Earl of Angus, his kinsman. This was his last appearance for many years in a country he had so deeply injured. To requite the Earl of Angus for the good service he had performed, he was rewarded with the estates of the attainted traitor—James thus committing the fatal error of raising an overgrown family anew in the person of another of its branches. It was now the turn of John Lord of the Isles, who had banded with Douglas, to tremble for his own safety; but after humbling himself before the king, with entreaties for pardon and many promises of fealty, his delinquencies were forgiven.

By this time, the two years' truce which had been made with England in 1457 having terminated, it was renewed for four years longer; and James, who had quelled his domestic enemies, thus hoped to enjoy leisure to pursue his plans for the improvement of the kingdom. But such at this time was the fury of the civil war in England, and the suddenness with which either party predominated by turns, that no peace or truce could be confidently trusted. It was with Henry that James treated as the rightful sovereign, and the English king was so compliant, that in consideration of assistance to be received from his ally, he was willing to resign certain portions of the English border which had for-

merly belonged to Scotland. But the Yorkists, who cared nothing for truce or paction of Henry's making, annoyed the Scottish borders so vexatiously during the same year, that James raised a large army, burst into England, and carried such havoc to the gates of Durham, that Henry, who still occupied a tottering throne, and saw in such a war the ruin of his cause, besought his brother sovereign to spare his subjects,—a request with which James complied, by retiring into Scotland.

Thus all was once more lulled into quiet, until the defeat of the unfortunate Henry VI., and his imprisonment by the Duke of York, summoned the king of Scotland once more to interpose in behalf of his ally. He hospitably received the helpless fugitives, Margaret of Anjou and her young son Prince Edward, who had fled to his court for protection; and mustering a still larger army than that with which he had formerly invaded England, he crossed the border, and commenced the campaign by the siege of Roxburgh, which had been in possession of the English since the battle of Durham. The use of cannon was as yet new to the Scots, and only employed by them in sieges, while they were so unskilled in gunnery, that the discharge of a field-piece was often as dangerous to themselves as to those at whom they took aim. And so it unfortunately proved on the present occasion. James, who had brought with him a lumbering array of ordnance, and planted it in battery, was examining its effects upon the strong walls of Roxburgh castle, when a large cannon made of iron bars that were only secured with oaken wedges, and which had been too heavily charged with gunpowder, suddenly burst in an attempt to fire it off, and the king, who was standing by, received such a blow from one of the wedges, that he fell dead in an instant. Thus suddenly and prematurely died James II. in the thirtieth year of his age, and when his powerful talents, matured by exercise and experience, were most successfully evincing themselves in the wise laws he enacted, and the growing improvement of Scotland.

Notwithstanding this disastrous accident the Scottish nobles were so bent on taking Roxburgh, that instead of raising the siege, they sent in all haste to Edinburgh, entreating the queen to come immediately to the camp, bringing with her prince James, now their sovereign, who was only eight years old. She complied; and after a hasty welcome from the army, the siege was renewed with such ardour, that Roxburgh was taken on the day of her arrival, and the castle levelled with the ground.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1460 to A. D. 1488.

Minority of James III.—Lord Boyd usurps the chief authority—He is driven into England—New favourites succeed—The king's brothers imprisoned—His favourites executed at Lauder—Troubles occasioned by the Duke of Albany—He invades Scotland and is defeated—The nobles combine against James III.—His defeat—He is assassinated.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*England.*

Henry VI.  
Edward IV.  
Edward V.  
Richard III.  
Henry VII.

*France.*

Charles VII.  
Louis XI.

*Popes.*

Pius II.  
Sixtus IV.  
Innocent VIII.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

1477. The power of Burgundy destroyed at the battle of Nancy by the Swiss.  
1480. Russia freed from subjection to the Tartars.  
1485. Richard III. king of England and the last of the Plantagenets slain at Bosworth.

IMMEDIATELY after the capture of Roxburgh, the Scottish leaders conducted the youthful prince to the neighbouring monastery of Kelso, where they crowned him with as much military pomp as circumstances permitted, under the title of James III. But the unanimity and ardour with which this national duty was performed, and the swords that were brandished when his title was proclaimed, could not avert the evils of a long minority, evils to be dreaded even in the the most civilized times, but inevitable in barbarous and early stages of society. The care of the young king's person, and the government of affairs for the present, were entrusted to Mary of Gueldres, the widowed queen, an arrangement that gave general dissatisfaction to the ambitious nobility; but on this occasion their dislike was in some measure justified by her character, which was not only imprudent, but even licentious. Under her administration, a regency was formed, the chief management of which was entrusted to Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, whose prudence, justice, and political sagacity had been greatly appreciated during the preceding reign. The chief events



that took place for the next three years were principally occasioned by the contentions in England between the houses of York and Lancaster, in which it was impossible for Scotland to avoid taking a share, as she had given refuge to the royal family amidst their disastrous changes. This war, however, was of little importance to the country either in its events or results, and in 1463 it was followed by a truce between the two kingdoms that was to last for the unusual term of fifty-five years—an engagement that, at such a period and between such people, might well be termed a political impossibility. During the same year, the queen died, and in 1466 occurred the death of Bishop Kennedy, by whose wise and energetic administration the ambitious had been controlled, and order maintained. Thus the young king, now only in his fourteenth year, was thrown loose from guardianship, to be the prize of contention for every one who sought through his name and countenance to obtain the chief influence in the kingdom.

The scramble that ensued for this unworthy purpose was, as might be expected, of the most iniquitous character; and the predominance was secured by William Lord Boyd, the head of a family hitherto of little note or influence, who had lately been created a peer, and invested with the office of High Justiciar. His attempts to obtain possession of the king's person, and the management of affairs, were characteristic of the period. He entered into bonds with several of the nobility, by which they engaged to support him in every movement, and fortify his power against all opposition, in return for which he was to procure for them immunities and rewards incompatible with the rights of the crown, as well as the welfare of the people. Thus, some were to be maintained in all their feuds and quarrels past, present, and to come; others to get or retain an influential place in the king's special council, and others to be guerdoned with such profitable windfalls as might occur in the course of events. These engagements, which were solemnly signed and sealed with abundance of religious attestations, seemed to mark out Scotland rather as a hostile territory to be invaded and plundered, than a realm to be governed and benefited. Having thus mustered his auxiliaries and prepared them for action, the next step of Lord Boyd was to obtain possession of his sovereign's person, a deed that was now of easy accomplishment. The young king was sitting in the Exchequer Court, in the palace of Linlithgow, when Boyd suddenly entered at the head of the principal

conspirators, compelled James to mount the crupper of a horse behind one of his allies, and in this sorry style of procession led the sovereign of the country into his fair capital of Edinburgh. After this atrocity, a solemn farce of reconciliation and amnesty behoved to be enacted. Accordingly, at a sitting of parliament that was soon after held at Edinburgh, Lord Boyd entered, threw himself at the king's feet, and humbly besought him to declare to the assembled estates his sentiments respecting his late abstraction from Linlithgow. The boyish sovereign, who had been probably tutored into the part he was to play, averred that the act, so far from being forcible and violent, had been done in all courtesy and kindness, and according to his own free will; and to save Boyd and his adherents from challenge upon the subject for the future, an instrument to that effect was drawn up by the parliament. By the same authority, Lord Boyd was also invested with the guardianship, not only of the young king, but also of his brothers. But the height of safety as well as elevation seemed to have been attained by this upstart family, when soon after, the hand of the princess Mary, sister of the king, which had been pledged to Prince Edward, son of Henry VI., was bestowed upon Sir Thomas Boyd, the eldest son of the bold conspirator, who was created Earl of Arran, and endowed with rich estates and possessions.

Power thus acquired was not calculated to be lasting, and its overthrow proceeded from a quarter that could not have been suspected. When James III. had completed his sixteenth year, it was thought full time to select for him a consort, and the person chosen for this purpose, was Margaret, daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark and Norway. In arranging the marriage settlements, particular attention was to be paid by the Scottish ambassadors to the entire cession of the Orkney and Shetland islands to the crown of Scotland. These indeed had been purchased from Norway by Alexander III. in 1266, for which a trifling annual payment was to be rendered by the Scottish kings; but as a considerable number of years had elapsed, during which this payment had been neglected, Christiern not only claimed the full amount of these arrears, but also the penalties consequent on the failure. The treaty was satisfactorily concluded, the northern potentate agreeing to remit his demand as part of the marriage portion. From the same embassy however he learned more closely the state of Scotland, and especially the vassalage in which his proposed son-in-law

was held by the Boyds, upon which he threw all his influence into that party of the nobles who were already plotting the downfall of the usurping family. The ruin of their prosperity was in consequence more rapid than its rise, although its rise had been so sudden and daring. The Earl of Arran was obliged to flee to Denmark : Lord Boyd, after a vain attempt at resistance, escaped to England, where he died a broken-hearted old man ; and his brother, Sir Alexander Boyd, who had been the king's tutor in military exercises and accomplishments, was tried, condemned, and executed. The crime adduced against him, as well as the family at large, was the abduction of the king from Linlithgow. In reply, the plea was set up that the act had been declared good service, and exempted from all future punishment under the great seal ; but the stern answer to this was, that the instrument had been extorted by the Boyds, at a time when they exercised a power the very acquirement of which was treason in a subject, and therefore a heavy aggravation of their offence. The princess Mary, who had fled with her husband, was recalled by order of the king, and on a divorce being obtained to rescind her union with the Earl of Arran, she was bestowed in marriage upon Lord Hamilton, to whom she had been promised so early as 1454, in requital for the services he had rendered her father, James II., in the great Douglas rebellion. From this noble alliance the family of Hamilton became the nearest heirs of the throne of Scotland during the earlier part of the reign of the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

Although James III. was thus delivered from unworthy favourites, who ruled the country under the sanction of his name, yet their downfall seemed only to prepare for the rise of others of a still more questionable character. When he had reached the age of manhood, he showed his unfitness for the high office he held by his dislike of military sports and field exercises, his aversion to the society of the nobles, and indifference to those daily toils and occupations which constitute the chief duties of a sovereign. Instead of these, he devoted himself to learning and the fine arts, as yet little understood in Scotland ; but his studies in learning comprised the absurdities of astrology and witchcraft, while his researches in the departments of taste and elegance were more conducive to the gratification of a frivolous luxury, than what was really beautiful and useful. Nothing could be more adverse to the temper of a warlike people like the Scots, than to find their king thus alienated

from the active employments of his station, and converted into a meditative book-worm. But even this was not the worst. His taste for architecture, music, and other such pursuits, in which his rough courtiers could not share, only attracted him more closely to those who excelled in them; and thus his chief favourites were Rogers an English musician, Cochrane an architect, Torphichen a dancing-master, and Hammil a tailor. By these men his society was chiefly enjoyed and his favour occupied, while the proud nobility from whom he kept aloof, were indignant not merely at their exclusion from the royal countenance, but that it should be occasioned by men whom, however talented, they looked upon as base and low-born mechanics.

When such was the state of affairs, it was natural that the people should transfer their regard to more deserving, or at least more attractive personages; and in the king's two brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, they found what they sought—men of noble presence and martial accomplishments, and endowed with those ingratiating manners so suited, especially in princes, to captivate the popular taste. These two accordingly soon attained the chief influence in the state, and the neglected James became jealous of their popularity. This jealousy was fostered by Cochrane, the chief of James's unworthy favourites. It would appear that the cunning architect had availed himself of the king's superstitious belief in sorcery and soothsaying, and surrounded him with fitting instruments; so that while the king was startled at one time by a Flemish wizard whom he patronised, and who predicted that a lion was soon to be devoured by its whelps, he was at another confronted by a witch, who told him she had learned from her familiar spirits, that Mar was plotting against his life by spells and incantations. These vain alarms sunk deep into the weak heart of James, and roused him into instant action. The Duke of Albany was the first to experience the effects of these mischievous vaticinations. As he was a bold ambitious man, and had exercised his office of warden of the borders like an independent sovereign, the king suspected him of aiming at the crown, and had him suddenly apprehended and confined in the castle of Edinburgh. The duke however soon contrived to escape from prison, and he fled to France in the vain hope of inducing the selfish and cautious Louis XI. to reinstate him in Scotland through the aid of French auxiliaries. The Earl of Mar was the next victim of the king's superstitious terrors. He was imprisoned in Craigmillar

Castle under the charge of having consulted with witches as to the probable period of his royal brother's death ; and his fate was of a darker character than that of the more fortunate Albany, for he soon after died, under suspicious circumstances of having met with foul play. His veins had been opened, it was said in reply, to cure a sudden access of fever ; but on being laid in a warm-bath, he had torn off the bandages, and thus bled himself to death.

In the mean time the Duke of Albany, although an exile and a suppliant, continued to be a formidable enemy. He had endeavoured, but in vain, to procure from the king of France the means of invading Scotland ; yet although baffled in this quarter, he had soon the prospect of the more effective aid of England in accomplishing his treasonable purposes. Edward IV. who had cultivated peace with Scotland as long as his occupation of a new throne was insecure, no sooner found himself firmly seated, than he resolved to renew the war between the two kingdoms, notwithstanding the long truce that had been established between them. Albany therefore, who in too many points resembled the selfish brother of Robert III., lent a willing ear to the proposals of Edward, and agreed to occupy the Scottish throne as the mere vassal of England, and surrender to his liege-master the fairest of the northern provinces. The traitor forthwith repaired to England ; and so vain as well as confident had he already become on the strength of this flimsy negotiation, that in his contracts he signed himself Alexander REX, as if he were already in the full exercise of royal authority.

The war thus prepared for was soon proclaimed, and the Scottish army headed by James III., who was accompanied by his obnoxious minions, set forward and encamped at Lauder. But the Scottish nobles had contemplated an event more favourable to their interests than even a victory over the English. They were now at the head of their military retainers, the power of the sword was in their hands, and with a word they could doom to ruin those unworthy men who had engrossed the society and perverted the administration of their king. Of these favourites, Cochrane, whom the nobles scornfully termed "the mason," appears to have been not only the ablest, but also the most guilty and obnoxious. He had impoverished the country by his extortions, and by debasing the current coin of the realm ; and to crown his guilt in the eyes of the nobility, he had thrust himself into their ranks, by purchasing from the king the

earldom of Mar, and parading in public with a body-guard of three hundred men armed with battle-axes. Even his tent, now that he had come into the field, was of silk fastened with gilded chains, while its furniture and appointments within were correspondent to all this external bravery. This arrogant pomp, added to his former delinquencies, sealed his fate; and the nobles, unknown to the king, assembled in stern conclave within the church of Lauder, to deliberate upon the national grievances, and to redress them. It was quickly settled that all the favourites should perish—but by whom was the adventure to be risked, and the king's revenge bearded? This question was proposed by Lord Gray in the form of a homely apologue. "The mice," he said, "assembled to deliberate upon the best plan to stop the ravages of their deadly enemy, the cat, when it was agreed, that the most effectual way was to tie a bell round her neck, by which means they would always have due warning of her approach. The mice," he added, "were delighted with this proposal, and were about to break up the meeting, when the question suddenly occurred, 'Who will fasten the bell?' " "Let that be no question here," exclaimed the stern and fearless Earl of Angus, raising his gigantic form in the midst of the assembled nobles;—"I will bell the cat!"

The matter having been thus settled, and before the lords could depart to execute their sentence, a loud knocking was heard at the door, which being opened, Cochrane himself entered, ignorant of their purpose, and pranked out in that splendid attire with which he sought to cover his humble origin. The lords soon closed round the offered victim. "It does not become thee to wear this collar," cried Angus, snatching the massive golden chain which Cochrane wore round his neck; "a rope would suit thee better." "Nor yet this horn," added Douglas of Lochleven, seizing a hunting-horn tipped with gold and adorned with precious stones, which the gay architect wore at his side: "thou hast hunted mischief enough already, and must no longer wear this precious bauble." "My lords," cried Cochrane, who was as fearless a man as any present, "are ye in jest or earnest?" They soon resolved his doubt by binding his hands, and placing him under a guard. They then strode onward to the royal tent, seized the other favourites, and dragging them from the presence of the king, whom they put under temporary confinement, they repaired to the bridge of Lauder which was selected as the place of execution. Cochrane pleaded hard to be suspended with a silken cord from his

tent, instead of being hanged with a common rope like a dog—his love of foppery even surmounting the fear of death itself; but his prayer was disregarded, and he was hanged over a parapet of the bridge, not even with a common cord, but a halter of horse-hair. The same fate befel Rogers the musician, Hammil the tailor, Torphichen the dancing-master, and several others, after which the nobles disbanded the army, leading James with them as a prisoner, whom they confined for a time in the castle of Edinburgh. As for the Duke of Albany, he was easily induced to forego his engagements with England, upon being reinstated in his honours and possessions; and on his arrival in Edinburgh, he was entrusted not only with the custody of the king's person, but a principal share in the government, by being invested with the office of lieutenant-general.

It was not however by such concessions that the ambition of the duke was to be satisfied. He still continued his intrigues with England for the purpose of securing the crown to himself, and might perhaps have succeeded in his iniquitous aim, but for a party of the nobles who still loved their country, and could not tolerate the idea of its being reduced to a mere English province. So effectual was their opposition, that he was soon unseated from office, upon which he fled once more to England, after treacherously delivering up the castle of Dunbar to an English garrison. His next attempt was to stir up Richard III. to interpose in his behalf: but that daring sovereign, who had usurped the crown of England by the murder of his nephews, and whose possession of it was threatened by the rallying Lancasterians, was in no mood to complicate his numerous difficulties by the hazards of a Scottish war. Rendered desperate by this rejection, Albany resolved to invade the country with his own scanty resources, in which attempt he was joined by Earl Douglas, who although now an old man, and an exile of thirty years' standing, still retained the ambition of his former years, and had entered into every design that menaced the peace of Scotland. The two chiefs commenced their hopeless adventure at the head of only five hundred horse, with which they crossed the border, and appeared before Lochmaben, expecting there to be joined by their allies and retainers. But the hardy townsmen, who thought that this unexpected visit was for the mere purpose of plunder, snatched up their arms, and gave battle to the invaders. In spite of their bravery, they were on the point of being overpowered and driven back into their streets, when a

portion of the royal forces opportunely arrived to their aid, and Albany and his troopers betook themselves to flight. As for Douglas, he was struck from his horse, and about to be surrounded, when he saw in the foremost of the press a son of Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, one of his old and faithful followers, and to him he surrendered, that his born vassal might be enriched with the high reward offered for his apprehension, instead of a stranger or an enemy. Kirkpatrick wept at this generous motive of the grey-haired warrior, and offered, but in vain, to set him at liberty, and fly with him to England. Such at that time was the feudal tie between dependent and chief in Scotland; a feeling generally paramount to that of loyalty, and often of patriotism itself. When the prisoner was brought before the king, the earl, either from pride or shame, turned his back upon the latter; and when his sentence was pronounced of confinement for life in the monastery of Lindores, instead of being sent to the scaffold, he muttered within his beard, "He who may no better, must needs turn monk." It was thus that the noblest branch of the lofty race of Douglas became extinct, a race that rivalled, and sometimes eclipsed the power and grandeur of its sovereigns. As for Albany, after escaping to England, he soon after repaired to France, where in a few years he was accidentally slain in a tournament.

James III. being thus delivered from his two formidable enemies, might be considered as ensured in a life of peace and safety. But he had not yet learned wisdom from the dangers he had escaped; and he resumed with even more than former eagerness his passion for extravagant building and unkingly propensity to hoard money, his secluded habits, and devotedness to the study of music and the occult arts. As if these were not sufficient to estrange from him the love of his subjects, he also resumed the worst of his former faults, that of favouritism, the object of which was now Ramsay of Balmain. This person, the youngest of his cherished associates when the others were executed, would have suffered with the rest when they were dragged from the royal presence, had he not clung to the king's person, who entreated, and at last obtained, the youth's exemption from the halter. James was so imprudent as afterwards to make Ramsay captain of the royal guard, raise him to the rank of the peerage under the title of Lord Bothwell, and bestow upon him that unpropitious favour which he had formerly conferred upon Cochrane. Thus the nobility soon found that the perquisites which had once fallen to their share were



intercepted by the craving hand of their sovereign, and that the influence which they ought to have possessed at court was obscured by a creature of his own. With all this, they had also just reason to fear that the outrage they had committed at Lauder Bridge, although unmentioned, was not forgotten, and that the king only watched an opportunity of revenge. Thus a selfish regard to their own interests combined with the dread of punishment, in the absence of higher motives, was sufficient to animate such men to rebel against their sovereign, and plunge the country into all the evils of civil war.

A cause of open quarrel was only wanted, and that was soon afforded by the infatuated king. In consequence of his love of music, which at that time was utterly unintelligible to the Scots, he was desirous to maintain a double choir in his royal chapel at Stirling; and to defray the additional expense of such a measure, he unscrupulously seized on the revenues of Coldingham priory. But this religious institution had long been accounted an especial property of the Homes and Hepburns, who were in the habit of choosing a prior from each family in turn; and the chiefs of these proud and powerful families felt themselves insulted as well as defrauded by the royal encroachment. They soon found others to sympathise in their grievance; the discontent quickly ripened into revolt; and the barons of the south, who proceeded to array themselves against James as an unjust king and tyrant, were headed by the Earl of Angus, popularly called Bell-the-cat, from his noted saying in the council at Lauder church. James, on the other hand, was followed by the barons of the north, who repaired to the royal standard as soon as their rivals began to muster. At the head of the force which he commanded, the king might soon have crushed the adverse coalition, had he possessed but a small portion of the spirit that animated his father and grandfather; but unfortunately he was no warrior, while he seems to have possessed no better counsel than that of his minion Ramsay. The two armies confronted each other upon the southern shores of the Forth, where a few indecisive skirmishes occurred, intermixed with equally fruitless negotiations between parties who had committed themselves to mortal arbitrament. But the insurgents having obtained possession of the person of prince James, the eldest son of their sovereign, now only in his sixteenth year, allured him to give his name and countenance to their cause, upon which they proclaimed him king

under the title of James IV., and deposed his father as a tyrant and traitor. At this new and afflicting movement, James III. renounced the conflict as hopeless, and made a hasty retreat to his capital. This, however, was a premature step, as his friends reassembled in such force that he was soon at the head of thirty thousand soldiers. He might have again bid successful defiance to his enemies, had not his faint spirit been utterly quelled by an insurrection thus headed by his thoughtless son, and therefore he closed with a treaty in which he granted not only full pardon to the insurgents, but a separate kingly maintenance to their young leader, who had already assumed the kingly title.

It is evident that a treaty like this could be nothing more than a mockery: it was a mere military manœuvre, where each party sought to gain time, or throw the other off its guard. Such at least it appears to have been with the barons of the south; for only a short time after the king had dismissed his army and retired to Edinburgh, they were assembled in greater force than ever, and with the young prince at their head. The adherents of James rallied round their sovereign, upon which he marched from Edinburgh to Stirling, and took post upon a piece of ground called Little Cangler, within a mile of the field of Bannockburn, and there waited the approach of the rebel army. When the engagement commenced, the king's forces had at first the advantage, until the fierce borderers advanced, men nursed in war from their childhood, and armed with spears longer than those of their adversaries, who came on with loud yells, and soon bore down the left wing of the royal army. This was a mischance which a brave soldier would have regarded with defiance, and a good leader have surmounted, but as for James, he utterly lost all courage and hope. He had seen his own royal banner floating over the enemy's ranks, at the head of whom was his son, his first-born, impatient for the inheritance; and perhaps, at that fearful apparition he was still further unnerved, by the remembrance of those dark prophecies which had consigned him to destruction by his nearest kindred. While the battle was at the fiercest, and his soldiers gallantly struggling and dying in his defence, he suddenly turned bridle, and galloped off the field. As he hurried at full speed through the little hamlet of Milltown, his horse, a fleet iron-grey that had been presented to him that morning by Lord Lyndsay of the Byres, and warranted to carry him from every danger, suddenly swerved at the sight of a woman drawing water, and the un-

skilful rider, who was flung from the saddle, swooned with the fall, and the unusual weight of his armour. He was humanely carried into a neighbouring cottage. When he recovered, he entreated that a priest might be brought to confess him ; and on being asked his name he incautiously replied, " Alas, I was your sovereign this morning ! " The woman immediately rushed out of the cottage, wringing her hands, and crying with piteous entreaty for a priest to come and receive the king's confession. At this moment, an unknown person, probably a straggler from the conflict, threw himself in her way, exclaiming, " I am a priest ; lead me to the king. " On being brought to the royal presence, he knelt by the sorry bed on which James was laid, and asked him if his hurts were deadly ; who answered that they were not, if carefully tended, but that in the mean time he wished, in case of the worst, to confess his sins, and receive absolution. At this reply, the unknown ruffian suddenly drawing a poniard, exclaimed, " This shall presently give thee absolution ! " and plunged it repeatedly into the king's heart. The murderer having finished this foul deed disappeared, and was never afterwards detected. The death of James III. occurred in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-eighth of his reign.

## CHAPTER XIX.

A. D. 1488 to A. D. 1513.

Reign of James IV.—Exploits of Admiral Wood—James IV. befriends Perkin Warbeck—Able administration of James—Andrew Barton slain—War commenced with England—Preparations of James to invade England—Battle of Flodden and death of James IV.

## CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

*England.*  
Henry VII.  
Henry VIII.

*France.*  
Charles VIII.  
Lewis XII.

*Popes.*  
Innocent VIII.  
Alexander VI.  
Pius III.  
Julius II.  
Leo X.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1491. The Moorish kingdom in Spain overthrown.
- 1492. America discovered by Columbus.
- 1494. Algebra first known in Europe.
- 1497. The Portuguese reach India by doubling the Cape of Good Hope.
- 1499. Sebastian Cabot discovers North America.
- 1500. Brazil discovered by the Portuguese.
- 1506. The building of St Peter's Church at Rome commenced.
- 1513. Henry VIII. invades France.

JAMES IV. who had been proclaimed by that designation during the life time of his unfortunate father, was now king in reality; and of those nobles who had been the most forward in the late conspiracy, some were rewarded with estates, and others with offices in the government. Wistful looks were also cast by the successful party towards the tempting possessions of those who had followed James III., and several barons were cited to trial before the parliament, with a view to their punishment by fine or confiscation. Ridiculously enough too, the charge against them was that of treason, because, in taking up arms for their late sovereign, they had rebelled against James IV. This charge, notwithstanding its manifest absurdity, was in some cases followed by the usual punishment, while the war against James III. was pronounced to have been not only necessary and lawful, but also good service to the state. Thus strangely does success change the name and character of persons and events. He who plots and fails is a traitor, and condemned to a traitor's doom; while he who plots and prospers in his design, is eulogised as a patriot and a hero.

The young sovereign commenced his reign with activity

and vigour, and not only showed a laudable desire for the welfare of his people, but a wise circumspection to avoid the errors into which his father had fallen. He cultivated the esteem of the nobles, prized their society, and countenanced their stirring pursuits, and this he was the more easily enabled to do, from his naturally frank and buoyant temper, and his love of field sports and chivalrous exercises. Such therefore was their attachment to his person, that an attempt at rebellion excited in the beginning of his reign by the powerful Earl of Lennox, was speedily and with ease suppressed. But the chief danger of James IV. arose, not from his unfitness to rule the kingdom, but himself. Even thus early he was addicted to profligate pursuits, a fault that perverts the counsels and ensures the ruin of sovereigns, however wise and powerful. His excesses in these particulars were strangely contrasted with his religious character, and his fits of penitence and devotion. With all his gaiety, he could not escape from that remorse which haunted him for the share he had taken in his father's death; and he endeavoured to silence the reproaches of his conscience by such remedies as the church at that time prescribed. He founded monasteries and other ecclesiastical endowments; he wore an iron belt round his waist, to which a link was annually added; and he spent a part of Lent every year in the gloom of some monastic building, where he strove to expiate his crime by acts of mortification and penance. But as soon as the period of restraint was over, he rushed into scenes of merriment and deeds of profligacy with greater zest than ever as if his self-inflictions had not only silenced the inward accuser, but purchased the privilege of a whole year of iniquity.

As James was anxious to improve the commerce of Scotland, and had besides a considerable taste for ship-building, his love of nautical affairs was ably seconded by Sir Andrew Wood, the earliest as well as the best of old Scottish naval heroes. This gallant admiral, who had performed signal services upon his own element during the former reign, had forfeited court favour for his attachment to the cause of James III.; but in consequence of his merits, that offence was overlooked, and he became the devoted friend and counsellor of the new sovereign. His services also were soon in requisition. A pirate fleet of five English ships entered the Clyde, and committed great devastations, upon which the task of chastising them was consigned to the Scottish admiral. With only two ships,

Wood went in quest of the enemy, captured the five hostile vessels, and carried them with their crews triumphantly into Leith. Henry VII., now king of England, enraged at this disgrace of his naval flag, resolved to sweep the audacious Scottish commander from the seas, and with this intent, although peace still subsisted between the two countries, he privately incited Stephen Bull, an active merchant and brave skilful seaman, to set sail in quest of Wood. Bull commenced his cruise in three stout well-armed vessels, and fell in with his antagonist near Saint Abb's Head. A desperate sea-fight commenced, which was only suspended by the coming of night; and on the following morning it was renewed with such fury, that the combatants, wholly inattentive to wind and tide, allowed their ships to be drifted into the mouth of the Tay, the shores of which were lined with anxious spectators. At length the superior skill of Wood prevailed: the three English ships were captured, and Stephen Bull on being presented to James, was courteously set at liberty without ransom.

The affairs of Scotland were now in the most prosperous condition. The commerce of the country was ably guarded, as well as its interests advanced by Wood, who besides being the most distinguished of naval commanders, was soldier, merchant, financier, and feudal baron. James also, when he had ripened into manhood, perceived how much he had been duped by those selfish lords who for their own personal interests had allured him into the conspiracy against his father, and he either removed them from the court employments with which they had been rewarded, or cautiously watched their proceedings. The Highlands were tranquillized by the royal progresses which he made into their districts; and while the rude inhabitants were dazzled at the splendour with which these journeys were accompanied, they were also won by his popular manners and knightly accomplishments. While such was the internal state of the country, the truce with England continued uninterrupted by land, notwithstanding the late encounters by sea; for in those days the ocean was considered as a sort of neutral territory to which national compacts did not extend, and thus the merchant generally added the gainful practices of the buccaneer to those of his more peaceful profession.

It was from England, however, that the first danger threatened. The two nations watching each other like hostile gladiators in repose, were but enjoying a breathing interval in their strife; and Henry VII., although too wise

openly to strike, was ready to avail himself of any covert advantage. It appears that, in 1490, he entered into a dark plot with some of James' discontented nobles to make their master prisoner, and convey him in secrecy to England, but the plan came to nothing, and the whole of the particulars were studiously concealed. James was not of a temper to brook such an infamous injury, so that he seized the opportunity of open retaliation five years after, when it came in the person of the fugitive Perkin Warbeck. This young adventurer, who pretended to be the son of Edward IV., and therefore the rightful heir to the English crown in preference to Henry VII., had set up his claims in England but been defeated, upon which he fled to Scotland, and implored the aid of its sovereign. James, who appears to have been captivated by the graceful demeanour and specious arts of the young fugitive, and persuaded that he was the rightful heir of Edward IV., not only bestowed upon him his fair kinswoman, Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, in marriage, but accompanied him with an army into England to establish him on the throne. The English, however, were in no mood to receive a sovereign at the hands of their old enemies, and the proclamations of James and Warbeck were treated with neglect. Enraged at this indifference of the people, and their refusal to co-operate with him, James gave loose to his resentment by plundering and wasting Northumberland; and when the pretender interposed in behalf of his subjects, as he called them, the king observed with a sneer that he was too anxious about those who would neither acknowledge him as king nor subject. At length, finding the expedition so utterly hopeless, James retreated into Scotland without a battle, and soon after left Perkin to his fate, by civilly dismissing him from Scotland.

An invasion like this, which in former years would have been followed by a ruinous war, was happily passed over by the cautious king of England without retaliation, and the two countries again subsided into tranquillity. Such indeed was the pacific spirit of Henry VII., that although both an able and successful leader when circumstances called him into the field, his usual maxim was, "When Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he departed from it peace was bequeathed." James had therefore full time for returning to the internal affairs of his country, and in consequence of his strict and vigorous

exertions not only were the Highlands retained in comparative quiet, but the Lowland plains and highways cleared of the bands of marauders that had formerly infested them. Being himself a poet, and no mean scholar for the age, learning was encouraged, and in addition to the university of St Andrews, the earliest of Scottish colleges, and that of Glasgow, which was established in 1453, the university of Aberdeen was founded in 1500, by Elphinstone, bishop of that See. It is worthy of notice also, that these kingly cares and labours were amusingly intermixed with the extravagances of tournaments and pageants, so that the lance of James was sometimes levelled in the tilt-yard against those with whom he had been sitting in council, and the Minos of to-day would be enacting on the morrow the part of a "salvage man" in some ridiculous court mummery. But this was the transition period of Europe, in which Scotland was not likely to be among the foremost of kingdoms in throwing off the follies and feudalism of the middle ages. Having now attained the mature age of thirty, it was thought full time for James to espouse the bride about whom a treaty had been pending for several years. This was Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., who had now reached the age of womanhood; and in 1502 she became the queen of James, the marriage being celebrated with all the pomp and festivity that the court of Scotland could muster. On this auspicious occasion, the long truce that had subsisted with England was changed into a peace, the first that had subsisted between the two countries for a hundred and seventy years—a peace, however, which unfortunately was fated to be of short duration.

Soon after his marriage, James was annoyed by the revolt of a feudal sovereignty which had hitherto been a plentiful source of grievance to the Scottish kings. The proud office of Lord of the Isles, and the powers it entailed, had for some time been abrogated; but the rude islanders impatient of the government of a royal lieutenant, elected for their chief a descendant of their last kingling, and afterwards invaded the mainland, where they laid waste the district of Badenoch and burnt the town of Inverness. The energetic measures of James in 1503 soon quelled the insurrection, and justice courts were instituted, by which coercion was established among these hitherto lawless territories. At a parliament held the same year, several wise regulations for the government of the country at large were passed, the chief of which were the following:—No remis-



sions granted to offenders were to contain a general clause for all offences, as through this vague technicality the greatest offenders often escaped, the chief crime worthy of death being omitted, and a minor one selected in its stead. No pardon was to be given to those who had deliberately committed the crime of murder. To prevent the impoverishment of the country, no larger sum of money than forty shillings was to be exported from Scotland—a somewhat awkward comment upon the reciprocity of commerce. No Scottish subjects abroad were to carry on any law-suit except in the court of their Conservator, who was required to visit Scotland once a year. As attendance upon parliament was still considered a burden and loss, rather than an honourable distinction, the head men of the borough, as members of the Third Estate, were required to give their attendance when any tax was to be proposed, or contribution levied. The large forests with which Scotland formerly abounded having been destroyed, a fine of five pounds was imposed upon those who felled or burnt growing timber; while those proprietors whose lands were naked of woods and forests, were ordered to plant at least one acre with trees, and encourage the forming of enclosures for deer and other purposes. Lands were also to be let in feu, by which the interests of agriculture were promoted, and the feudal hold of the landlord upon the military services of the tenant restrained within proper limits; and to promote the same ends, no agricultural implements were to be seized for debt. By other statutes enacted at this sitting of parliament, the same laws, and the same weights and measures were to be common to the whole realm; the expenses of law-suits were to be moderated, and mendicity discouraged and suppressed.

These legislative cares of James IV. were, as usual, succeeded by disturbances and revolts among his people, and chiefly those of the Isles, who in 1504 and the following year again broke out into rebellion. But the navy of Scotland was now in such an effective state, that the castles of the island chiefs were easily controlled, and their owners reduced to submission. Besides these outbreaks, there were those occasioned by the borderers, who lived independently of the laws of either kingdom, and plundered both indifferently. To repress this insubordination, James advanced at the head of a well-appointed military force into Eskdale; and as his expedition was to combine amusement with the toils of government, he was also attended by a large train

of huntsmen, falconers, and buffoons. For the purpose of enfolding the malefactors more completely within the net, whereso many meshes were spun of silk and golden threads, he had also applied for the co-operation of Lord Dacres, the English warden, who joined the Scottish king at Lochmaben. Their united efforts soon enveloped the offending districts ; many of the most notorious border freebooters were brought to execution, and the chief of the marauding leaders reduced to submission. By these decisive efforts the disturbances of the country were suppressed, its commercial importance increased, and amicable relations formed or renewed with the nations of the continent. All was indeed the promise of prosperity and peace to Scotland and her king, when the clouds began once more to gather. An ominous prognostic was the death of Henry VII., during whose wise and temperate administration the ardent spirit of his son-in-law had been kept under wholesome check, but who was now succeeded by his son Henry VIII., to the full as rash and headstrong as James himself ; and from the predominance of two such fiery spirits no lasting peace could be expected.

The first, as well as the chief ground of quarrel, originated in the vain ambition of the young English king, who sought, by making war with France, to emulate the glories of Edward III. and Henry V. But as France was the ancient ally of Scotland, and as James IV. had ever continued on the most friendly terms with the French court, an invasion of that country by Henry was almost certain to be followed by a war between England and Scotland. While France was thus menaced by the new king of England, an event soon occurred that produced the explosion. The two Bartons, merchants of Scotland, and also admirals and buccaneers, at a time when every merchant-ship had to fight its way from port to port, and who were more prompt to plunder than willing to be plundered, had risen by their daring and successful deeds at sea to a renown scarcely inferior to that of Wood himself. In consequence of injuries done to the Scottish shipping, they had obtained letters of reprisal against the Portuguese, under which they captured several rich prizes ; and that nothing might escape them, they had stopped and searched several English vessels during their cruise, to make sure that no Portuguese goods were on board. This liberty was keenly resented by the English, and the Earl of Surrey vowed that such excesses should not be endured, as long as he had an estate to furnish

a ship, or a son to command it. Two stout vessels under the command of his sons, Lord Thomas and Sir Alexander Howard, were accordingly sent, who fell in with Andrew Barton on board his ship the *Lion* in the Downs, and accompanied by an armed pinnace. A cruel sea-fight ensued; Barton, mortally wounded, still encouraged his men by blowing his whistle, and after he had breathed his last, his vessels were captured, and carried into the Thames. James remonstrated by a herald upon this outrage, but Henry scornfully replied, that the fate of pirates ought not to be a cause of quarrel between princes. A ground of contest by land as well as sea had also been furnished on the part of England. Sir Robert Ker, warden of the middle marches, in consequence of peculiar strictness in repressing the borderers, had been murdered by three Englishmen during the reign of Henry VII.; but notwithstanding the expostulations of James, one of the assassins was still allowed to go at large within the English border, as if in defiance of the king of Scotland, as well as contempt of all justice.

Thus war between England and France continued daily to become more certain, and Scotland therefore rang with military preparations of which those for naval service occupied no ordinary attention. Even yet, however, James and Henry might have been prevented from hostile collision, the former by the impoverished state of his exchequer, to which his hostile preparations had reduced him, and the latter by his unwillingness to leave England exposed at his departure to a Scottish invasion, when the important question in which the welfare of two kingdoms was at stake was decided by an idle punctilio of chivalry. In a letter which she wrote to him with her own hand in the style of the high-flown romances of the period, the queen of France termed James her knight, and besought him to arm for her defence, as if she had been already in the hands of some loathly giant, or immured in the dungeon of an outrageous paynim. To enforce this petition, she sent him a ring from her finger, as a pledge of affection—and aware that something more was needed to enable him to fulfil her request of making a day's march into English territory, the ring was accompanied with fourteen thousand crowns. Blinded by these vain allurements so much in character with his tastes and habits, James forgot the safety of his throne and the welfare of his people, by plunging at once into a war with England. He sent a herald to Henry VIII. then in France, and employed in the siege of Terounne, rehears-

ing all his causes of grievance, and enjoining him to desist from invading France under the penalty of a Scottish war. Henry was not one to be daunted by such an appeal, and he answered the challenge by a prompt defiance. But the fierce borderers of Scotland were so eager for action and plunder, that they did not even wait the adjustment of these quick preliminaries; for under the leading of Lord Home they made an inroad into Northumberland, accompanied with the usual amount of destruction and pillage. In a careless march homeward, however, the invaders were attacked at Millfield plain near Wooler by an ambush of archers, who suddenly started from the long broom, and plied their arrows with such effect, that the Scots were put to flight after leaving a third of their number dead on the field, and a large amount of their best soldiers prisoners.

This discomfiture only hastened James's warlike preparations, and the whole military array of the kingdom was ordered to meet him at Edinburgh furnished with provisions for forty days. The prudent and experienced, aware of the danger of such a war, endeavoured to avert it by acting upon the superstitious feelings of the king. Thus, voices like the proclamation of a herald were heard at midnight from the market-cross of Edinburgh, summoning the king and his chief nobles by name to appear within sixty days before the tribunal of Pluto. A still more solemn warning was prepared for James in the church of the palace of Linlithgow. A man arrayed in a blue mantle bound with a linen girdle, and having sandals on his feet, wearing in dress, countenance, and demeanour, a striking resemblance to the popular idea of the beloved disciple of our Lord, the adopted son of the Virgin Mary, suddenly appeared before the king, leaned upon the desk at which he was sitting, and thus addressed him without salute or reverence, in a tone of severe authority: "Sir king, my mother sent me to warn thee not to proceed in thy present undertaking; for if thou dost, it shall not fare well with thee, or with those who follow thee. I am also commanded to warn thee against the society and counsels of women, lest they occasion thy disgrace and downfall." These words were uttered in a slow, solemn, fearless tone, and before the king had recovered from his astonishment the strange messenger had vanished no one could tell how or whither.

These were startling admonitions and believed to be supernatural; but James had reached that pertinacity of

purpose from which men will not be warned "though one should arise from the dead." It is also probable that his natural sagacity, combating with his superstitious fears, made him suspect these portents to be the mere cunning devices of those who were opposed to the war. He commenced his march at the head of an army superior in numbers and equipments to any Scottish host that had hitherto invaded England, and took in succession the castles of Northam, Wark, and Ford. These were paltry enterprises in which to engage so noble an army, and one that was provisioned for only forty days. But a still more fatal error was committed by James in disregarding the warning concerning women that had been given him in the church of Linlithgow. With the castle of Ford, he also captured Lady Heron, the wife of the castellan, now a prisoner in Scotland, and became so enamoured by her charms and blandishments that his military arrangements were neglected. While valuable time was thus wasted, the Earl of Surrey, to whom Henry had entrusted the defence of England, was enabled to muster his forces, and provide for repelling the invasion. He was soon ready for the encounter, and he sent James a challenge inviting him to battle on a certain day, if he dared to abide so long in England, which the king was so rash as to accept. In the mean time, from the delay that had been so wantonly incurred, the provisions of the Scottish army were exhausted, and the soldiers were retiring to their homes in crowds; but James, obstinately bent on abiding by his engagement, took up a strong position on the hill of Flodden, where Surrey found it unsafe to attack him. But this advantage he recklessly compromised by allowing the English to occupy a favourable position that endangered the safety of his army. This absurd dalliance with fortune called forth the earnest remonstrances of his nobles, and especially of the old Earl of Angus, who represented the danger of the Scottish position, and the growing weakness of the army, and recommended an immediate retreat while there was yet opportunity. But James, who probably remembered at that moment the courage of the earl in bearding the former king, and the circumstances under which he had acquired the popular name of Bell-the-cat, rejected his counsel with disdain, and told him that if he was afraid, he had permission to return home. Angus burst into tears at this ungenerous taunt. Finding that his services could be of no further use, he returned to Scotland, leaving behind him

his military vassals under his two sons, whom he charged to stand by the king to the last extremity.

This unhappy expedition, which commenced in vain knight-errantry, was continued to the end in the same spirit; for so eager was James to afford the English a fair and equal field, that he allowed them to cross Twisel bridge, where his admirable well-served cannon might have ploughed their crowded ranks, and crushed them in advance. But Surrey well knew with whom he had to deal, and moved his army undisturbed through every obstacle, until he had posted it upon advantageous ground in the rear of the Scots, by which their chance of retreat without battle was precluded. James having thus allowed the enemy every advantage, prepared for an engagement by setting his rude encampment on fire, and descending under cover of the thick smoke into the plain. The conflict was commenced by the Scottish left wing under the Earls of Huntley and Home, which made so furious an onset upon a portion of the English vanguard, that it was thrown into confusion and driven off the field, while its commander, Sir Edward Surrey, the Admiral of England, was beaten to the ground, and all but taken prisoner. At this crisis, the reserve of the English cavalry under Lord Dacres advanced to their aid, and charged the victors so roughly, most of whom being borderers had already scattered in quest of spoil, that the lost ground was quickly recovered, and the assailants put to flight in turn. Matters did not fare better with the Scottish right wing, which was chiefly composed of Highlanders and Islesmen under the Earls of Lennox and Argyle. These half-naked warriors were so severely galled by the English archers, that they rushed forward to close encounter, with such characteristic fury, that their antagonists were astounded at the onset. It was, however, but for a moment: the sturdy English yeomen closed their firm ranks, and so handled brown bill and spear, that the fierce clans after deadly loss were fain to give back, and finally turn to flight. The whole English battle was now collected round the Scottish centre headed by the king, which was assailed in front by the Earl of Surrey, and in flank and rear by Dacres and Sir Edward Stanley, who had put their right wing to the rout. James, who had needlessly exposed himself in the front of the ranks, and toiled like a common man-at-arms, was now surrounded by his nobles and knights who fought only for his safety, without a thought for their own; even the common soldiers were animated by the same

generous feeling ; and the unequal conflict which had commenced at four o'clock in the afternoon, was gallantly maintained with doubtful fortune until the death of James, who fell among a heap of slain, and the darkness of night obliged the combatants to separate. Even yet it was doubtful with which party the victory remained, and the English in their uncertainty kept watch all night ; but on the morning, they found the field abandoned by the enemy, whose broken ranks were still to be seen drawing off in the distance, or mustering in groups and bands to make good their retreat.

Such was the memorable battle of Flodden, fought on the 9th of September 1513, than which no conflict was ever more deeply bewailed by the Scots. It was not from the numbers they had lost, which did not exceed ten thousand, nor from the political effects that followed, as the national freedom still continued unbroken, and even unbent. But the "flowers of the forest" had of a truth been "wede away;" the best and noblest of the land had fallen in that fatal field. The king, so popular and beloved, notwithstanding his errors and excesses, thirteen earls, five eldest sons of peers, and fifty persons of rank, were among the slain, so that there was scarcely a family of note in Scotland that had not the death of a relative to bewail. Amidst this terrible loss, the nation still fondly clung to the hope that James had escaped from the carnage, and set off on a penitential journey to Palestine, and that he would return to their aid in the hour of their greatest need. But they were not singular in such a fond delusion : other countries after a great calamity have fallen into a similar error, as in the case of Germany with the emperor Frederick, Spain with Roderick, the last of her Gothic dynasty, and Portugal with Sebastian. Nothing, however, is more certain than that James IV. expiated his rashness by a soldier's death on the field of Flodden. The body, which Lord Dacres recognised, was carried to England, and interred at Richmond.

In this celebrated engagement, which proved so disastrous to Scotland, we find an equality between the contending armies that can scarcely be paralleled in the warfare of the two countries. In point of numbers, military equipment, weapons, and position, they appear to have been equally matched ; the battle was maintained with equal courage on either side ; and all was put to the decision of fair and open struggle, without the interposition of feint or stratagem.

But the whole difference, and that which turned the scale, is to be found in the conduct of the two commanders. While Surrey kept aloof from needless danger, that he might calmly superintend and direct every movement, and was thus enabled to repair every accident, and send aid where it was most needed, James hurried into the blinding dust and confusion of the struggle, to which he could only bring the strength and courage of one man, and in which qualities he might be equalled by the poorest hind who fought for his daily morsel, or the moss-trooper, who charged through the throng to reach the plunder. On the other hand, his downfall was certain to entail disaster and rout upon the army he commanded, and a dire bereavement to the kingdom and people over whom he was appointed to bear rule.

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## CHAPTER XX.

A. D. 1513 to A. D. 1528.

The Queen appointed Regent—Marries the Earl of Angus and is deposed—Duke of Albany chosen Regent—He returns to France—Dissensions in Scotland—Contests between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses—Albany recalled—His unsuccessful Regency—The Earl of Angus usurps the chief power—Defeats the King's supporters—James V. escapes from the Douglasses—Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*King of England.*  
Henry VIII.

*Kings of France.*  
Louis XII.  
Francis I.

*Popes (at Rome).*  
Leo X.  
Adrian VI.  
Clement VII.

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1517. Luther commences the Reformation in Germany.
- 1517. Negroes first transported to America as slaves.
- 1520. Zuinglius commences the Reformation in Switzerland.
- 1521. Cortez conquers Mexico.
- 1522. First voyage round the world by a ship of Magellan's squadron.
- 1522. Rhodes taken by the Turks.
- 1524. Sweden and Denmark embrace the doctrines of the Reformation.
- 1525. Francis I. taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia.
- 1527. Rome taken and plundered by an army of Charles V.
- 1527. Pizarro commences the conquest of Peru.

No sooner had the terrible tidings of the defeat at Flodden reached the Scottish capital, than the whole city was



filled with confusion : nothing was to be seen but crowds hurrying to and fro ; nothing heard, but outcries of sorrow and terror. It was felt as if the land had received its mortal blow, and that the enemy was at their gates. The magistrates also had followed the king to the field, so that Edinburgh was left without guardian or director. But the merchants, who on this trying occasion assumed the temporary guidance of affairs, most nobly confronted the difficulty. In the full belief that the victors would instantly prosecute their advantage, they distributed arms to the citizens, and made proclamation that the women should repair to the churches, or confine themselves to their own houses, instead of shrieking in the streets. It was soon apparent, however, that no immediate attack was to be apprehended. The Earl of Surrey had suffered so severely by the determined resistance of the Scots, that he was in no condition to enter Scotland ; and therefore on the following month of October, the parliament was able to assemble undisturbed, although with wofully diminished numbers, to arrange for their future government.

The solution of this question was by no means easy, as James, the heir of the throne, was still in infancy. Thus a national evil was again to be encountered, from which Scotland had suffered oftener than once under the Stuarts, and which seems to have been a doom too common to the whole dynasty—the evil of a minority. In compliance with the testament of the late king, as well as from the hope of conciliating Henry VIII. her brother, Margaret, the widowed queen, was invested with the regency. Henry, however, was not to be so propitiated, and with all the overweening arrogance of a conqueror, he sent orders from France to his lieutenants, to continue the war by inroads into Scotland. This soon disgusted the Scots with their new regent : she was a female, an Englishwoman, and the sister of their implacable foe, and in her sisterly correspondence they thought that she might be tempted to betray their secrets, and compromise their national interests. They sought for a new ruler, and their choice fell on the Duke of Albany, now living in France, son of that prince who had occasioned such troubles during the reign of James III., and who, on the failure of the family of James IV., would have been nearest in succession to the crown. Thus the situation of Margaret was critical, aggravated by the circumstance that she was about to give birth to a posthumous child. The nobles respected her condition, and she was delivered of a male

infant, who was entitled Duke of Ross. Scarcely, however, had she recovered, than she hurried into marriage with Archibald, Earl of Angus, who, in consequence of the death of his father and uncle at Flodden, and the retirement of the heart-broken Bell-the-cat into religious solitude, had succeeded to the estates and political influence of the family. The earl was young, handsome, popular, and endowed with the hereditary bravery of his family; but frivolous, selfish, and profligate, and insatiable in his love of power, without ability to retain or wisdom to use it. This step of the queen settled the question at issue. It was decided that by her second marriage she had forfeited all claim to the regency, and in the year 1515 Albany arrived from France, and was invested with the office. His accession having been opposed by the Earl of Angus and the queen, the newly-married pair were among the first to experience the effects of his resentment, so that they were obliged to abandon the country and retire into England.

It was not long before the Duke of Albany showed his utter unfitness for the duties of a Scottish regent. He was indeed of graceful elegant manners and high accomplishments; but these were qualities as yet little understood or valued by the people of Scotland, while he was materially defective in that courage and experience without which the trying difficulties of his station could not be surmounted. Besides, his education, attachments, and interests were so exclusively French, that he was more anxious about the welfare of the country he had left, than of that which he came to rule; and as the war between Henry VIII. and Francis I. became more critical, he evinced greater anxiety to commit Scotland to the interests of France, than even Margaret had shown to attach it to the other party. To this undisguised partiality, which offended all those who were desirous to maintain peace with England, an event probably wholly accidental was added, which perhaps but too darkly reminded the nation of the unprincipled ambition and crimes of the former dukes of Albany. He had compelled the queen before her flight to England to deliver up her two sons to his keeping; but in a short time, the infant Duke of Ross, the posthumous child of James IV., sickened and died. Whispers of foul play and poison were circulated on this occasion, and so eagerly received, that the young heir to the throne was removed from his guardianship, and placed under the charge of a select company of the nobles. Finding his situation thus rendered daily more uncomfort-

able, he resolved to return to France, at the court of which his influence had been of a higher and more agreeable character, as the favourite of Francis I. But before his departure, he resolved to signalise his administration by an act of stern justice, and it may be, of revenge. At the head of the faction that supported the cause of England was the Earl of Home, a fierce opposer of his measures, and close correspondent of the English nobility. Albany allured him and his brother within his reach; had them tried, condemned, and executed, and their heads placed over the tolbooth of Edinburgh. After this sanguinary deed, he set sail for France in June 1517, leaving the government in charge of a chosen council, and carrying with him the eldest sons of several great barons, as hostages for the peace of the country. But his precautions were unavailing: tumults broke out immediately upon his departure, and in one of these, the friends and vassals of his victim the Earl of Home, surprised and murdered De la Bastie, a gallant French knight, to whom he had entrusted the command of the marches, and set his head over the market-cross of the town of Dunse.

During this short period of two regencies, the internal strifes and divisions with which Scotland was torn into shreds, can scarcely be described or even comprehended; for besides the family feuds of the chief lords, which had always of themselves been sufficient for the country, it was further divided into two great factions, the one adhering to France, and the other to England. It may seem wonderful indeed that the latter should have found supporters in Scotland, were it not that the intrigues of the English king to accomplish this object are now fully revealed and understood. The aim of Henry VIII. was to obtain the chief rule in Scotland, not by open war and violence in which his predecessors had so signally failed, but through bribery and intrigue: by purchasing the powerful nobles who were accessible to avarice, and dividing into factions those houses that were insensible to his allurements. Already, therefore, he had commenced that dark and silent system of controlling the Scots which was afterwards prosecuted with such refinements and success by his daughter Elizabeth. It was a base but sure preparative for the union of the two crowns, which took place a century afterwards. Henry, whether in England or in France, adhered with steadiness to his project. Thus in 1516, after the flight of his sister into England, he wrote an arrogant letter to the Scottish parliament, as if

the victory of Flodden had already laid the whole country at his feet, commanding them to dislodge Albany from the regency, and drive him out of Scotland. To this they answered with becoming spirit, refusing to comply with his demand, and expressing their determination to resist every attempt to disturb the peace of the country, or overthrow the government they had established. He also employed Lord Dacre, the border warden, who had acted so conspicuous a part at Flodden, to spare no money and intrigue in winning over the influential, and multiplying dissensions among the Scottish lords, a task which that emissary accomplished with infamous dexterity. Henry had also won over or purchased the Earl of Angus, his brother-in-law, who made peace with Albany before the departure of the latter, and returned to Scotland. Thus, with a powerful and insidious enemy that everywhere found access ; with an aristocracy, of which one large portion consisted of the mere stipendiaries of England, and another of factious brawlers who sought power and profit in their own name, and for their own enjoyment ; and with a king still in helpless boyhood, who was shifted from hand to hand as parties happened to win or lose in this selfish political game, the further preservation of Scotland as a kingdom seemed impossible, or only to be accomplished by a miracle. But noble destinies yet awaited her, and this her darkest hour was but the prelude of the dawn.

As soon as queen Margaret, who had previously sought and obtained permission to revisit Scotland, was advertised of Albany's departure, she left her brother's court, and returned to Edinburgh. Her arrival was at a time of such strife, division, and intrigue, that even Albany himself despairing of any other remedy, wrote to her from France, advising her to resume the regency. Margaret, however, wished to have this office secured for her husband ; but on the proposal being made to the council, it was met by a decided negative. This show of affection between the noble pair was of short duration, for so profligate were the practices of the Earl of Angus, that the queen, after vainly remonstrating, was obliged to threaten him with a divorce. But indeed, her own conduct as a wife was scarcely less reprehensible than that of the earl as a husband. Henry VIII. interposed, and patched up a temporary reconciliation between the ill-paired couple. Angus now endeavoured to seize the chief government in good earnest, being impatient of sharing it with the council to which he belonged ; but

in this attempt he was opposed by the Earl of Arran, who was also of the council, and who being the head of the house of Hamilton, had as deep a stake in the management of the realm as his hot and ambitious rival. This feeling extended over their respective adherents, and became a fierce cause of quarrel between the Hamiltons and the Douglasses, in which much blood was spilt not only in the streets of Edinburgh, but in various parts of the kingdom.

Thus matters went on till the beginning of 1520, when an event occurred in the capital that shows the distracted state of the country, and the manner in which the clergy as well as the laity were involved in the prevailing tumults. The Earl of Arran, and Beaton Archbishop of Glasgow, had resolved to restore the authority of the lords of regency by imprisoning the Earl of Angus, who still continued to monopolise the chief power; and for this purpose assembled their friends and partisans in the church of Blackfriars, at a time when Angus had but few followers at hand. The latter tried the effect of negociation through Gawin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, his uncle, who repaired to the confederates in the character of peace-maker. The bishop during the interview upbraided Beaton with his design of arresting and imprisoning the earl, when the other replied, "There is no remedy, and I cannot mend it, upon my conscience!" He struck his breast as he spoke, and the coat of mail that was carefully concealed within his priestly rocquet rattled at the blow. "Ha! my lord," cried the bishop, on hearing this unclerical sound, "methinks your conscience clatters." Convinced that no peace was to be obtained, the bishop returned to his employers, and Angus resolved to have recourse to arms. He rushed from his lodging in the Straight Bow, at the head of about a hundred followers, who were supplied with spears handed from doors and windows by the citizens as they passed, and with whom their cause was popular. A furious affray commenced in the High Street, in which the Douglasses, although greatly outnumbered, had so much the advantage from their long weapons, that they stood their ground until they were reinforced by Home of Wedderburne at the head of a troop of borderers, upon which the Hamiltons were chased from the town. As for Arran, after losing some of his best adherents, he was glad to escape by floundering through the North Loch upon a collier's horse, with his natural son mounted behind him on the crupper, while Beaton was chased into sanctuary behind the high altar of St Giles's Church, from which hiding-place,

when matters were quieted, he stole away on foot to Linlithgow. Anticipating this fierce collision of the two parties, William Douglas, prior of Coldingham, advanced on the spur from the country at the head of eight hundred horse, to aid his brother the Earl of Angus, but on finding the city gates made fast, he caused a wicket to be burst open with forehammers. On thus entering the city, he found his arrival unnecessary, as the Douglasses had already obtained the victory. This street battle was commemorated under the homely title of Cleanse-the-causeway.

The ambitious Angus having thus got possession of the capital, proceeded to act with the authority of a king, and the severity of a tyrant. But he had the most dangerous of all enemies in his wife, the queen-dowager, whom he had provoked by his arrogance and licentious amours. She was nearly as much offended with the overbearing pride of her brother Henry VIII. ; and these resentments operating upon her proud irascible spirit, alienated her completely from the party of England, and even made her turn to that of France, from which she hoped the gratification of her revenge, as well as restoration to her former influence. The result was a correspondence into which she entered with the Duke of Albany, urging him to return and resume the regency, an advice with which he complied in November 1521. His arrival, after an absence of five years, shook the power of the Douglasses, so that Angus was glad to escape to the border, and renew his negotiations with the English king. Albany now addressed himself to the duties of government, and laboured to restore order ; but this design was hostile to Henry, who saw in the event of its accomplishment the probability of a Scottish alliance with France, to the subversion of his own ambitious views in that quarter. Lord Dacre was therefore again set to work in his iniquitous vocation of sowing discord in the north, and no money was spared in setting every man against his fellow. Henry also, as he had done before, wrote to the Scottish Estates demanding the dismissal of Albany from the government, and was again compelled for his pains to digest a sharp denial, in which he was told by the parliament, that they had themselves freely elected him to the regency, and would not dismiss him at the request of the king of England, or any king whatever. An English invasion was the effect of this answer, an invasion, too, without even a proclamation of war ; and the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom it was conducted, advanced to Kelso, giving up that beautiful district

to havoc and spoliation, until he was encountered and driven back into England by the bold borderers of Teviotdale and the Merse. Albany made immense preparations to retaliate the injury, and reached the western frontier at the head of eighty thousand men, a force at which England, encumbered as she was with the French war, might well have trembled and turned pale. But the Scottish army was little better than a chaos of contending elements, while Albany himself was neither politician nor warrior; and thus, after a short interview with Lord Dacre, he was so thoroughly overreached by that bold soldier and wily diplomatist, that he disbanded his soldiers and retired without a blow.

On resuming the scarcely more peaceful civil duties of the regency when he returned from this miserable campaign, the Duke of Albany found his difficulties becoming so numerous and so complex, that he was glad to escape once more into private life. Accordingly, he retired for the second time to France, after appointing a council of regency, which consisted of the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earls of Huntley, Arran, and Argyle, and Grisolles a French knight, and promising to return in ten months on pain of forfeiting his office. He had not long departed when, in the spring of 1523, the English renewed the war by a wasteful inroad into Scotland. The Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden, by whom the invasion was conducted, having vowed to sweep the borders so effectually as to make them uninhabitable for nine miles on the Scottish side, advanced to Jedburgh notwithstanding the gallant resistance of the borderers, wrought wanton havoc upon the splendid abbey, and set fire to the town. Such was the resentment of the Scots at this aggression, and the barbarity with which it was conducted, that Albany judged the opportunity favourable for his return, and accordingly he landed in Scotland with a well-appointed force of five thousand French auxiliaries. But he enjoyed no longer the countenance and co-operation of the queen-dowager. That passionate, fickle, and unprincipled woman had returned to the party of England, and entered into treaty with Surrey and Dacre to recover the regency; and for this she betrayed the movements of the Scottish leaders, and incurred the hatred and contempt of every party. Albany had brought gold from France as well as reinforcements, and as his largesses were bestowed without stint, the needy nobles flocked to his banner, and marched with him to the border, but with the secret determination not to advance one step upon English soil. No-

thing therefore could be done with such an army, although it mustered to the amount of forty thousand, except laying siege to Wark castle, which was speedily raised on the advance of the Earl of Surrey. Albany thus impoverished, deceived, and baffled, had no further desire to endure the office of regent, and he left Scotland for the third time, under the pretext of a three months' absence, but with the resolution never to return.

James V. being now thirteen years old, was decreed to be of age, and proclaimed king, and the regency of the Duke of Albany was declared to be at an end. This sudden movement was chiefly accomplished by the queen-mother, now leagued with the Hamiltons, and their head, the Earl of Arran, and with the concurrence of Henry VIII., who hoped, in consequence of the youth and inexperience of James, to rule the Scottish council at will. Indeed, not only the members of whom it was composed, but the principal nobility of Scotland were his pledged stipendiaries. He soon found, however, that these purchased adherents were as fickle as they had been selfish and unprincipled; prompt to receive gold with both hands from France and England indifferently, and ready to neglect the business of either paymaster, or even to betray it. He therefore resolved to control and animate them through the Earl of Angus, upon whom he could more securely rely, and the way was prepared accordingly for the earl's return, who came to Scotland after a two years' exile. His arrival was enthusiastically welcomed, for he possessed those showy qualities that attract the popular favour, and notwithstanding his known attachment to the cause of England, he was still regarded as the head of the gallant Douglasses. No event could have been more unwelcome to Queen Margaret than his return, for she had formed a guilty attachment for Henry Stuart, second son of Lord Evandale, raised him notwithstanding his youth to the difficult office of Treasurer of Scotland, and was anxious to make him her husband, after procuring a divorce from the Earl of Angus, for which she was now in treaty. The earl had endeavoured, after his return from England, to conciliate the queen and her party by humble courteous demeanour, and the offer of every aid in advancing the English interests to which they were devoted, but finding his advances scornfully repelled, he resolved to have recourse to more decisive measures. He therefore attempted to possess himself of Edinburgh by storm, in which he had almost succeeded by the aid of his



borderers. Failing in this, he formed an alliance with the head of the queen's party, the rich, able, and powerful Archbishop Beaton, who held the office of chancellor, through whose effectual aid he accomplished the deliverance of the young king from the tutelage of his mother, and the formation of a new council of lords, after which, he found no difficulty of acquiring that supremacy in the government which he had so earnestly coveted. He was now therefore indifferent about a separation from the queen, who obtained the divorce on which she had set her heart, and who forthwith consoled herself for the loss of power, by marrying her youthful favourite, who was afterwards raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Methven.

The Douglasses having thus won their way to all their former ascendancy, seemed eager to renew those evils which had formerly procured their downfall; and one of their first acts was to procure a remission for every act of robbery, treason, and bloodshed, that had been committed for the last nineteen years in Scotland by any one of their name, after which they proceeded to occupy every place of profit and trust in the kingdom. Even Beaton himself, to whom they owed so much, was displaced from the chancellorship, that it might be bestowed upon the Abbot of Holyrood, an adherent of the Earl of Angus. Such indeed was the despotism they exercised, that while they oppressed and pillaged the country at pleasure, no one was found so hardy as to oppose them. The young king, now in his fifteenth year, perceived with sorrow the vassalage to which himself and the kingdom were reduced, and looked wistfully in all directions for the means of escape. There were yet brave and kind hearts to sympathise with him, and two powerful leaders, the Earl of Lennox, and Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh, severally resolved to interfere for his deliverance. The first attempt was made by Buccleugh at Melrose, on the 25th of July 1526. Angus, with James in his train, was returning from the border where he had been quelling some insurrections, when he found himself confronted at the bridge of Melrose by the baron at the head of a thousand horse. After a short but sharp parley, in which Buccleugh insisted upon his right of paying his respects to his sovereign in person, a furious conflict ensued, in which the borderers were soon defeated by the well-trained knights and men-at-arms of the other party. Undismayed by this failure, Lennox next prepared for the adventure, and having raised ten thousand men, he marched from Stirling

towards Edinburgh, vowing to free the king or die in the attempt. Angus on hearing of this movement, rushed from the capital, with a few troops, leaving in charge to Sir George Douglas his brother, to follow him with the king and the rest of his forces. James on this occasion tried every expedient to occasion delay upon the road, until at last Sir George, his keeper, sternly said, "Do not deceive yourself: if your enemies had hold of you on one side, and we on the other, we would rend you asunder rather than part with you." The king shuddered, and delayed no longer. When they had reached Kirkliston, the boom of distant cannon warned them that the engagement had commenced; and on reaching Linlithgow, they found it terminated, with Angus victor in the field, and Lennox among the foremost of the slain.

The authority of the usurping regent being thus strongly established, his rule became more despotic than ever, and to extend it, he added to his office that of the chancellorship, while James was so closely watched, that wherever he moved, he was attended or surrounded by a troop of Douglasses. He thus learned to dissemble, and he pretended to be wholly absorbed in field sports and the pleasures of the chase. His guardians deceived by this appearance, became less strict in their office, until at last he was left at the palace of Falkland, attended only by his body guard, commanded by Douglas of Parkhead. This was the opportunity for which he had watched and schemed. Having appointed a hunting-match to take place next morning, he retired one night apparently to rest; but it was only to assume the disguise of a groom, and get possession of three horses which had been already provided. Accompanied by two faithful attendants, he stole silently from Falkland under cover of midnight, and never drew bridle until he alighted within the strong ramparts of Stirling Castle. Even then, he would not retire to rest until he had the keys of the castle secured under his pillow. By this escape the power of the Douglasses, when it had attained its pitch of pride, was levelled by a boyish hand, and with a single blow. A proclamation was immediately issued, that none of them should presume to approach within six miles of the king's person, under penalty of high treason; and in a parliament that soon after assembled, Angus and his principal abettors were summoned to answer for mal-administration of the government, and confinement of the royal person. Angus, instead of appearing, fled to his strong castle of Tantallon, which he forti-

fied ; and when besieged, he not only baffled the attempts of the army headed by the young king, but drove it from the walls, and harassed it in the retreat. James V. thus defeated in his first assay in arms, indignantly vowed, that while he lived no Douglas should ever find favour in Scotland—and history has recorded how well he kept his vow.

Amidst all this stir of ambition and strife, in which the events appear so mean and the actors so degraded, it would be gratifying to trace the silent growth of those principles under which a land now almost trodden in the dust, was to rise from its degradation, and commence a new and nobler career. The principles of the Reformation, never wholly suppressed in Scotland since the days of the apostolic Columba, had for more than a century been rallying and advancing, so that the stirring events in Germany occasioned by the preaching of Luther, found a ready response in every part of our country. The church took the alarm, and after storing faggots in lieu of texts and arguments with which to encounter the danger, had procured sharp edicts to be proclaimed denouncing the importation of heretical books from abroad : but this prohibition was only calculated to make the forbidden knowledge more intensely coveted. One eminent young reformer also returned to Scotland at this time, whose martyrdom was to deepen the spirit of public inquiry, and kindle a flame that soon overspread the land, and which has burnt brightly to the present hour. We allude to Patrick Hamilton, whose death occurred in 1528, immediately previous to the downfall of the house of Douglas.

This young gentleman who was nearly related to royalty, his father being brother to the Earl of Arran, and his mother, sister to John Duke of Albany, had been appointed Abbot of Ferne, for such at that time was the fashion of providing for the younger sons of noble families by high and lucrative offices in the church, without reference to the duties which these appointments implied. He was educated at the university of St Andrews ; but at the age of twenty-three, he repaired to Germany, where he attended the universities of Witemberg and Marburg, and was honoured with the acquaintanceship of Luther, Melancthon, and Lambert. He profited so much by their instructions, that he not only abjured the religious errors in which he had been educated, but was eager to return to Scotland, to communicate to his countrymen the benefits he had received, at whatever sacrifice or hazard. He accordingly

landed at St Andrews in 1527, and boldly proclaimed the doctrines of the Reformation to crowds who listened, wondered, and admired. But his career, as might be expected, was abruptly brought to a close. He was quickly arrested, tried, and sentenced to death, notwithstanding his rank, youth, eloquence, and noble character, and in spite of the earnest efforts that were made to rescue him from the gripe of the pitiless clergymen, and especially of Beaton, who was now all-powerful in the church. The basest craft had been used for his conviction and death ; for not only had he been tempted to express his opinions under pretext of friendly conference, but the king had even been sent out of the way, under pretext of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Dothes, that he might not interfere with the execution. Amidst Hamilton's agonies at the stake, as the office of executioner was wretchedly discharged, so that he suffered much unnecessary torment, he solemnly exclaimed, " How long shall darkness overwhelm this realm ? How long wilt Thou suffer this tyranny of men ? " Thus died the martyr in early youth, but not before his great work was accomplished. If the clergy hoped that the rank of the sufferer would daunt the public sympathy, and more effectually deter from imitation, their calculation, as generally happens in such cases, was miserably frustrated ; " for," says the old historian of the Church, " within St Andrews, yea, almost through the whole realm, every man did inquire wherefore Mr Patrick Hamilton was burnt." The death of a meaner personage might have been disregarded ; but in this case, the sufferer was too illustrious an example either to be overlooked or forgotten.

## CHAPTER XXI.

A.D. 1528 to A.D. 1542.

Progress of the Reformation—Martyrdom of Henry Forres—Government of James V.—His character—Martyrdom of David Straton—Henry VIII. solicits a personal interview with James—Marriage of James—His negotiations with the Clergy—The English invade Scotland—The Scottish nobles refuse to invade England—James orders another invasion—Disaster at Solway—Death of James V.

## CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

*England.*  
Henry VIII.

*France.*  
Francis I.

*Germany.*  
Charles V.

*Popes.*  
Clement VII.  
Paul III.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1529. Diet of Spires against the Protestants.
- 1533. Henry VIII. declared by parliament supreme head of the Church of England.
- 1535. Society of Jesuits instituted by Ignatius Loyola.
- 1538. Bible appointed to be read in English Churches in the mother tongue.
- 1540. Reformation in Geneva.
- 1540. Monasteries dissolved in England.

THE death of Patrick Hamilton was any thing save a riddance to the bewildered clergy of Scotland. St Andrews, the place of his martyrdom, became the stronghold and capital of his doctrines. The power of his dying example was so prevalent, that the priests were told they must thenceforth burn their victims in close cellars, as the smoke of Hamilton's pile had tainted the whole atmosphere with heresy. Even many of the clergy began to open their eyes not only to the crimes and inconsistencies of their brethren, but to the errors of that creed which they had hitherto disseminated as the revelation of heaven, and the seal of salvation. The land was already labouring under that convulsive effort which is the inevitable forerunner of a total change, and under which all things became new.

This, however, was a consummation to which the popish clergy were happily blinded. Had they listened to the complaints occasioned by their own flagitiousness; had they amended or even diminished their own avarice and licentious conduct, and become, as they ought to have been, the teachers of that community which looked in vain to them for guidance, the new doctrines might have been checked, and even finally destroyed in Scotland, as they

were in Italy and Spain. But the Scottish priests by their remoteness from the great scene of action, and also from being accustomed to a course of independent government on account of their distance from Rome, were blind to those signs of the times which were so significant in other countries at the commencement of the sixteenth century. This their ignorance, too, was sanctioned by a congratulatory letter addressed to them by the university of Louvain, in which they were lauded as heroes and as saints for their holy bravery in having dared to put Hamilton to death. "Let us labour with one consent," said this singular manifesto, "that the ravening wolves may be expelled from the sheepfold of Christ while we have time."

To work accordingly went Beaton and his assistants, and the next person who suffered was Henry Forres or Forest, a young man belonging to Linlithgow, who had lately been inducted into the clerical office, under the orders of Bennet and Collet. Although he had hitherto been silent upon the subject, being perhaps not assured, at a time when all was doubt and inquiry, yet he was suspected of a leaning to heretical opinions, because he had in his possession a New Testament in English. As it was deemed necessary to obtain proofs for his condemnation, Beaton and the clergy employed a certain friar, called Walter Laing, to entrap him in the rite of confession. Forres accordingly, unsuspecting of the villainy designed, and depending upon the inviolability of the confessional, expressed his sentiments as if to the ear of Heaven; and acknowledged his opinion that Hamilton had been wrongfully put to death, and that the opinions for which he suffered were not heretical. Laing forthwith carried the tidings to the archbishop, who without scruple used the confession upon the culprit's trial, and Forres was condemned to be degraded, and then burnt. As soon as he was brought out for execution, and saw the clergy by whose means he had been entrapped, he exclaimed with righteous indignation, "Fie on falsehood! fie on false friars, revealers of confession." While they were stripping him of his clerical orders, he said with a loud voice, "Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism!" He was executed at a place called the North Style of the cathedral church of St Andrews, that from the conspicuous station not merely the neighbourhood, but the opposite county of Angus, might behold and take warning from his punishment.

While the clergy were thus toiling for a tottering supre-

macy that daily shook more and more beneath them, and endeavoured to maintain their footing by expedients that could only accelerate their downfall, James V., having now reached his seventeenth year, was enabled to assume the reins of government by the suppression of the ambitious Douglasses. After having quelled these formidable enemies, and chased them into exile, he repaired at the head of eight thousand men to the borders, to suppress those marauding chieftains who had indulged in every licence, through the connivance of their late warden the Earl of Angus. Upon this occasion, the young king had facilitated the task, by arresting and throwing into prison, before his departure, those chief border nobles whose power would otherwise have made his expedition fruitless. Stern justice was executed upon the chief offenders, Cockburn of Henderland and Scott of Tushilaw being hanged before their own castle gates, and the famous Armstrong and his gallant retinue of forty-eight followers upon growing trees. These ruthless severities dismayed the collectors of Black Mail who had been the bane of industry and order, and shook asunder those coalitions of the powerful on the borders, which, under the name of man-rents, had been too masterful for the authority of the law. The Orkneys also, which had returned to their wonted rebellion, were reduced to allegiance a short time afterwards. While these vigorous attempts were successful in regaining a temporary state of order to the unsettled realm, its mercantile interests were carefully promoted; and as a commercial treaty between Scotland and the Netherlands established during the reign of James I. for a hundred years had expired, it was renewed for another century, the celebrated Sir David Lindsay of the Mount having been sent on an embassy to Holland for this express purpose. To promote the execution of the law which had hitherto been tedious as well as partial, the College of Justice was instituted in May 17. 1532. This new tribunal, the plan of which had been probably derived from the parliament of Paris, was intended to free the burghs from those local justice-courts which were presided over by an aristocratic magistracy, who could delay or even thwart the applications of the poor; and to transfer important cases to a college of judges assembled in the capital. But the same evils could easily find their way to Edinburgh, and usurp those benches which were occupied by lordly administrators, and thus the ends of justice appear to have been little benefited by the change. As notwithstanding the peace

that subsisted between the two kingdoms, the Scottish borders were still attacked and wasted with great cruelty by the Douglasses, and Angus their chief, who had transferred his allegiance to Henry VIII., James divided the military muster of the kingdom into four parts, each of which defended the marches in turn under the command of his natural brother, the Earl of Moray.

When James V. had reached his twenty-second year, he gave full indication of his character, as well as the line of policy he purposed to adopt. In many points he closely resembled his father, being buoyant with activity and daring enterprise, intent on plans for the welfare of his subjects, and as prompt as he was merciless in the execution of justice, of which the borderers long after rued the fruits. But like James IV., he was grossly addicted to profligate pursuits, a tendency to which his early youth had been too much encouraged under the guardianship of the Douglasses, who hoped by thus estranging him from all serious occupation, to monopolise the whole government of the kingdom. These good and evil qualities were strangely blended in the whole of his subsequent career. At one day, he was ready to sally to the borders, and risk his life in the suppression of outlaws, or to hoist sail for the encounter of rebels and pirates in the northern and western isles; and at another, to ramble alone and in disguise, in pursuit of some worthless amour. These were the adventures of Haroun Alraschid, but without the high integrity and grandeur that elevated the freaks of the Caliph. Instead of adopting the policy of his father, by selecting the nobles for his friends and counsellors, and attaching the whole order to his interests, James V. cultivated the regard of the middle classes, not yet a sufficient counterpoise in Scotland to the aristocracy, and was so great a favourite among them, that he was commonly entitled the King of the Commons. And yet, these were the very people to forsake him when he quarrelled with their landlords and chiefs. While he thus threw off the services of the nobility, he was most unfortunate in selecting the clergy for his advisers, men who had already attained the height of avarice and selfishness, of luxury and profligacy, and the days of whose predominance were already numbered. He seems to have been ignorant of the numbers and strength of those in Scotland who were attached to the Reformation, and how safely therefore he might have placed himself at their head, or at least have tolerated their cause. Perhaps, also, the hatred he felt for his domineering uncle,



Henry VIII., and the consequences that followed the marriage with Anne Boleyn, made him the more eager to adopt a totally opposite course. Such was the character, the principles, and proceedings of James V., in which we can easily trace the sources of his misgovernment, and the causes of his untimely downfall.

The clergy finding their sovereign so compliant a coadjutor, pursued their task of persecution, for which there was no lack of victims; and the best of the land continued to be sentenced, and handed over by the church to the secular arm, while James was rewarded for his zeal by an allowance from the Pope of a tenth of the revenues of the Scottish benefices for three years. Many were cited before the ecclesiastical tribunal, of whom some bravely suffered, and others recanted. Of the former class, we can only particularise David Straton, a gentleman of the house of Lauriston, who was brought to the knowledge of the truth by frequenting the company of Erskine of Dun, and hearing from him portions of Scripture, for Straton himself was unable to read. On one occasion, hearing Erskine read that solemn warning of our Saviour, "Whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in heaven," he fell upon his knees, and raising his hands towards heaven, exclaimed, "Lord, I have been wicked, and justly mayest thou abstract thy grace from me; but, Lord, for thy mercy's sake, let me never deny thee nor thy truth, for fear of death or bodily pain." His pious prayer was answered. He commenced his testimony in a manner that was certain to lead to persecution, for it was by resistance to the exorbitant demands of the clergy. The Bishop of Murray was in the habit of exacting the tenth fish of all that were caught as part of his due, upon which Straton caused his servants to throw these tithe fishes back into the sea, declaring that the prelate might come and get them out of the common stock. In consequence of his contumacy, he was subjected to the ecclesiastical punishment of cursing; but when it was found that he disregarded this infliction, he was cited in due form to answer the charge of heresy. The trial took place in the abbey of Holyrood, the king himself being present, and clothed in scarlet, the ominous costume of a judge in a trial of life and death; and Straton, who was found guilty, and refused to recant, was sentenced to the stake. He appealed on this occasion to the royal clemency, but was proudly told in open court by the presiding bishop, that the king's hands were bound,

and that he had no grace for those whom their law condemned. He was executed with Norman Gourlay, also an adherent of the reformed principles ; and to make the warning more conspicuous, their execution took place at the Rood of Greenside, on the Calton Hill, that the inhabitants of Fife, their native county, might be able to see the flames.

While such were the proceedings of James V., there was little hope that the efforts of his haughty uncle to convert him would be crowned with success. Henry VIII., however, who never doubted his own wisdom or eloquent persuasive powers, was of a very different opinion, and set himself in earnest to the task. All was to be accomplished by a personal interview between the two sovereigns at York. Henry, when he made the proposal of this meeting, tempted the ambition of James, by promising to give him his daughter in marriage, and to create him Duke of York and Lord Lieutenant of the whole realm ; and he sent him a tractate, entitled, *The Doctrine of a Christian Man*, by which he was to be weaned from the errors of Romanism. The first resolution of James, which was to grant this interview, filled the clergy with dismay : they saw in it the downfall of monasteries, and the confiscation of church revenues, such as had taken place in England ; and they hastened to counteract the splendid but fallacious promises of Henry, by something more certain and immediate. They not only therefore dissuaded him, by representing the danger of a journey to England as being likely to terminate in coercion or a prison, but by the offer of a good round sum, which his expensive tastes and impoverished finances made highly acceptable. The dreaded meeting was therefore postponed to an indefinite period. This refusal was so grateful to Pope Paul III., that he conferred upon James the title of Defender of the Faith, with which the king of England had been honoured, but of which he had since proved himself so unworthy, and sent him also a consecrated cap and sword. In return for these baubles, the suppression of the Reformation was prosecuted with still greater strictness. During the same year (1535), the act of parliament formerly passed against the importation of Lutheran writings was repeated ; all who possessed copies of them were to deliver them up on penalty of confiscation and imprisonment, and all discussion of their doctrines except for the purpose of refutation was strictly prohibited. Infallible stimulants these to farther discussion and inquiry !

As James, notwithstanding his zeal for the church, still

continued to prosecute his licentious intrigues, in which his life and the consequent safety of the kingdom were often set upon a cast, the wish that he should marry was universal among his people, except the Hamiltons, whose chief, the Earl of Arran, in the event of the king's dying without heirs, would be next in succession to the throne. James, willing to gratify the nation, as well as to thwart every prospect of a closer alliance with Henry, repaired to France, and there married the princess Magdalene, only daughter of Francis I., a beautiful maiden of sixteen, but even already sinking into the grave, through the effects of a hectic fever or consumption. The anxious father had pointed out this circumstance to James as dissuasive of the union, but the ardent bridegroom would not be restrained. On the 19th of May 1538, he returned to Scotland with his tender young partner, who on landing knelt upon the shore, and took up a handful of the sand and kissed it, in token of love for her husband's country which was thenceforth to be her home. A brief home, alas! which in less than two months was to be converted into her grave, for she died on the 7th of July. Her loss was deeply lamented, but especially by those of the Reformation, as she had been brought up under her Protestant aunt the Queen of Navarre—a circumstance that reconciled the clergy not a little to her death. This was the first occasion on which the costume of mourning was introduced into Scotland.

Having thus been so unexpectedly bereaved of the hope of a successor, James resolved to repair the disappointment by a second alliance, in which his wishes once more reverted to France, with whose king he had entered privately into a league, at the instigation of the Pope, for the establishment of the church, and the suppression of Protestantism. His choice on this occasion was Mary of Guise, widow of the Duke of Longueville; and the ambassador sent to conclude the treaty, was his principal favourite and counsellor, David Beaton, afterwards bishop of Mirepoix, and cardinal of St Stephen in Monte Cœlio, nephew to the Archbishop of St Andrews. The bride was brought to Scotland under the guidance of this renowned leader of the church, and the marriage was solemnised before the year of mourning had expired, in the cathedral of St Andrews. In consequence of the death of the archbishop, David Beaton succeeded to the primacy, and with talents greatly superior to those of his uncle, he became a still more formidable and relentless enemy to the doctrines of the reformed. And in all this hostility he was

zealously seconded by the king, who although he abated nothing of his sensual irregularities after marriage, seemed only to become more vehement for the interests of the church, and more merciless towards its opponents: he even made a solemn vow to spare no one suspected of heresy, were it his own son. But the united efforts of king and cardinal were so miserably frustrated, the cause so grew and flourished under every additional blow, that nothing save what appears a judicial blindness, which in the midst of all their sagacity had robbed them of common sense, could have induced them to persevere. It was not alone the simple, but the most learned and talented; not merely the laity, but friars and priests, who swelled the ranks of martyrs and confessors; while many, not only of ancient and influential houses, but even of the nobility, forsook the established creed, and testified against its errors and corruptions.

In the mean time, the domestic happiness of the king, so rudely interrupted at the commencement, had resumed its course with the most favourable auspices. A son was born to him in 1539; and the dread of a failure in the royal succession being thus removed, he began to show more avowedly than ever his independence of the nobles, and his readiness to be guided by the counsels of the clergy. They soon found the utmost of their influence nothing more than necessary for their own preservation. Henry VIII. was bent not only on breaking the coalition between James and Francis I., but on combining the whole island against the Papal power, and for this purpose he renewed his invitation for a personal conference at York. That James also might see the necessity of such a step, he represented through his ambassador, the scandalous lives of the clergy, and the propriety of resuming those revenues and endowments which they had so shamefully misapplied. This was a tempting bait to the Scottish king, who had impoverished his funds by extravagance and splendid buildings. It would appear also, that notwithstanding his devotedness to the interests of the priesthood, there were times when he could doubt not only their wisdom as advisers, but their fitness as spiritual instructors and guides. Besides this promise of sudden wealth, Henry held out to him the prospect of succeeding to the throne of England, in the event of the death of his infant son Prince Edward. James paused and deliberated, and the clergy were alarmed. They renewed their attack, as on the former occasion, with the promise of present aid, and offered him an annual revenue from the church property

of thirty thousand crowns. But this was not all. They also showed him with what ease an hundred thousand crowns annually might be added to this contribution, by confiscating the property of heretics, a list of whom they had carefully drawn out. James, however, was not yet prepared for such a climax of iniquity. He held a conversation upon the subject with the Laird of Grange, his treasurer, one whose name was set down in the fatal scroll. This stout baron gave such weighty reasons against the proposed spoliation of the enemies of the church, and so strongly recommended the example of Henry in resuming the church lands, that James was for the time at least persuaded. Accordingly, when the cardinal and priests returned for an answer, they found him in the most unfavourable of all moods. "Pack, you jugglers!" he cried in a sudden fury; "get you to your charges, and reform your own lives, and be not instruments of discord between my nobility and me. Wherefore gave my predecessors so many lands and rents to the kirk? Was it to maintain dogs, hawks, and harlots to a number of idle priests? The king of England burns, the king of Denmark beheads you, I shall stick you with this whinger!" So saying, he drew his dagger, and the priests fled in dismay.

It was in consequence of this unwonted change, that James assented to the proposal of Henry, and engaged to meet him at York at the time appointed. Still, however, the priests were not to be so baffled. They returned to the charge, and so effectually recovered their ascendancy, that James agreed to their proposals. On this account, he not only disappointed Henry, who had come to York, and there waited several days in expectation of the promised meeting, but he made arrangements for confiscating the property of heretics according to their suggestion. A severe judge was necessary for the purpose of trying the defaulters, and at their recommendation Sir James Hamilton, the illegitimate brother of the Earl of Arran, a fierce unscrupulous man, devoid both of justice and pity, was promoted to the unenviable office. But he did not long hold it; for he was accused to the king of high treason by his cousin the sheriff of Linlithgow, and although no proof of guilt could be fully established, he was condemned and executed.

After having thus yielded against his better judgment to the devices of an iniquitous hierarchy, the cares and misfortunes of the infatuated sovereign succeeded in crowds, as if to warn and punish. With war continually menacing him from England, he was conscious that he had forfeited

the confidence of the nobles, and that they were more likely to plot against him than to arm in his behalf. These waking anxieties were succeeded by frightful midnight dreams, the chief object of which was Sir James Hamilton denouncing the coming woes that befel him, or pursuing and mangling him with a drawn sword. Domestic misfortunes of the most grievous kind were also added to his other calamities. The queen was delivered of a second son in 1540, who was baptized in the chapel of Stirling by the fortunate name of Arthur; but only eight days after he died, and was followed in six short hours by his elder brother. Thus James was childless, and his chief defence against the ambition of the nobles was removed. He endeavoured, however, to arm himself by a remedy which had always proved dangerous, and sometimes fatal to his predecessors: this was the resumption of all the districts and estates whose occupants by their rebellion had incurred the doom of forfeiture, and annexing them to the crown, instead of parting them among the chief nobles, as had hitherto been the usual practice. Thus the Hebridean, Orkney, and Shetland islands, and the lands that had been held by the Douglasses, extending over many a fair district, were at one sweep included within the property of the royal exchequer, to the great indignation of the nobility, who considered themselves defrauded of their share. By the same parliament, which was animated and directed by Beaton and the ecclesiastics, the severity of the laws against the adherents of the Reformation was increased. All reasoning against Papal infallibility was proclaimed a capital crime; those who had fled the country were to be considered as guilty; every assembly for the discussion or propagation of Lutheran doctrines was strictly prohibited, and high rewards were offered for the detection of such conventicles. And not only was every one suspected of having held such opinions declared incapable of holding office in the government, but also precluded from associating with the followers of the church, however he might have recanted and been absolved. Even the consecrated images, that occupied the niches of sacred buildings and the corners of streets, obtained a share in the benefit of this legislation, and severe penalties were denounced against those who attempted to mutilate or remove them. The debility of the papal church was indeed alarming, when its champions of stone needed such protection. Strange too was that devotion which so cared for their safety, after framing laws for the ruin of living men created in the image of God!

Henry VIII. having exhausted all his gentler expedients in vain to procure the aid of his nephew in banishing the papal supremacy from the whole island, had now recourse to more violent arguments. The disturbances upon the border, indeed, had been going on with little intermission, stirred up chiefly by the exiled Earl of Angus, without any open countenance from the king of England ; but now that Henry had been a second time disappointed of an interview, he commenced preparations for war upon a more general scale. The first attempt of consequence was an inroad of Sir James Bowes, the castellan of Norham, into Scotland, with three thousand horse, in which he was joined by Angus with a large body of his followers. The invaders were gallantly met at Hadden Rig by the Earl of Huntley, and so completely routed, that their leader and all his principal officers were taken prisoners, and Angus himself only escaped the same fate by a desperate use of his dagger. Nothing could exceed the vain-glorious triumph of the Scottish priests, to whom this war was most acceptable, than such a promising commencement. "All is ours," they cried ; "the English are but heretics. If we be but one thousand, and they ten thousand, they dare not fight. France shall enter upon the one side, and we on the other, and so shall England be conquered within a year." Such was their confidence, that those who did not share in it, were stigmatised as traitors and heretics. But a defeat like this was only a puncture to raise the anger and the strength of England. War was now proclaimed by Henry in regular form ; the antiquated claim of his predecessors to the superiority of Scotland was revived ; and the Surrey of Flodden, now Duke of Norfolk, assembled an army at York, and commenced a destructive irruption into Scotland. James mustered his forces to meet the enemy, and at the head of thirty thousand soldiers encamped on Fala Muir. But these were chiefly the military retainers of the nobles, whose hour of retaliation had arrived. When the Duke of Norfolk therefore retreated, after having exhausted the provisions of the district, and James was eager to follow and retaliate, lords, knights, and barons doggedly refused, upon the plea that their military service only extended to the defence of Scotland. They were too powerful now to be gainsaid even by their sovereign ; and after thanking them with a gratified countenance for having marched thus far, while he secretly trembled with indignation, James disbanded the army, and returned to Edinburgh spiritless and sick of heart.

On the king's return to the capital, a conclave, consisting of the cardinal and the ecclesiastics, was held at Holyrood-house. The refusal of the nobility was strictly canvassed, of whom some were declared to be heretics, others favourers of England, and others adherents of the Douglasses. Encouraged by the king's pliability, they once more ventured to bring forward their plan of confiscation, and tendered the scroll which James had formerly rejected so roughly, containing more than a hundred names of landed gentlemen, as well as some of the chief nobility. This list had been drawn up on principles worthy of Italian or Spanish inquisitors, for the names were inserted upon accusation, or even loose suspicion, without the parties condemned being aware of the charge. They were thus judged and sentenced unheard. James received the scroll, and expressed his regret that he had formerly despised their counsel. "I now plainly see your words to be true," he added; "the nobility neither desire my honour nor countenance, for they would not ride a mile for my pleasure, to follow my enemies. Will ye therefore find the means how I may have an inroad into England without their knowledge and consent, that it may be known to be my own inroad, and I shall bind me to your counsel for ever." This declaration was applauded by all present, and the plan of the invasion was settled. The western borders of England were to be assailed, as being most defenceless; the expedition was to be conducted so secretly, that none should be aware of it, till the day of action; and Oliver Sinclair, the king's favourite, and also the hired servant of the priesthood, was to be appointed to command it.

The clergy were now busy with military musters: their rescripts flew east, and west, and north, and south, to all over whom they thought they had influence, to repair with their armed vassals to the appointed meeting-place. On the day previous to the march, the king arrived at Lochmaben, where the forces whom the priests had been able to put in motion were mustering; and thither also came such of the nobility as James thought he could still trust, at the head of their military contingents. At midnight, the trumpet sounded the royal march; but when the squadrons reached the Esk, they found to their disappointment that the king had not accompanied them. "Who," it was immediately asked, "is to head the inroad?"—a question the more necessary, as an English army was already in sight. This important question was quickly solved, as had been



previously determined, by Oliver Sinclair being elevated upon men's shoulders, and proclaimed general in the king's name, and with sound of trumpet. The nobles, whether popish or reformed, were confounded to find a mere private gentleman thus suddenly placed over them, while their vassals were equally indignant at the slight thus thrown upon their lords. The whole host was instantly like a sea lashed by a sudden whirlwind: rank crowded against rank, and group debated with group, until the wild hubbub and confusion were noticed from the English camp, out of which three hundred horsemen sallied forth at adventure, to hover upon the skirts of the Scottish army, and learn the causes of the uproar. Finding how matters stood, this little band with couched lances and loosened reins dashed fearlessly upon the headless throng—and in an instant, and without a blow, the whole army of more than ten thousand brave soldiers betook themselves to flight. The ground was strewed with their weapons, which they threw away as they fled; and even the nobles, who were paralysed at this shameful result of their own disaffection, were more anxious to be taken prisoners, than to return with shame to their homes. In this manner the Earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Sommerville, Oliphant, and Gray, Oliver Sinclair the general of a moment, and above two hundred gentlemen, fell into the hands of the English. Never before even in their most disgraceful discomfitures had the Scots furnished a parallel to the wild rout of Solway.

James was waiting at Lochmaben for tidings when the stunning intelligence reached him. This was the crowning misery: he felt as if beyond this there was nothing to hope or fear. He wandered to and fro with eyes fixed and meaningless, and at last laid himself down upon a sleepless bed, where all night long he shuddered and murmured, "Oh, did Oliver flee?—is Oliver taken?" Next morning he mounted his horse to return to the capital. The proud Angus must at last be recalled from banishment, for he alone had power to control the nobility. Such was the king's first humbling resolution; but on reaching Edinburgh, he was so ashamed to meet the look of any one, that he threw all business aside, and hurried across the water into Fife. He felt that the wound with which he had been stricken down was mortal, and he spoke as a dying man, so that when his servants asked him where they should make preparation for his holding Christmas, which was approaching, he replied mournfully: "I cannot tell; choose

you the place: but this I can tell you; before Christmas day, ye shall be masterless, and the realm without a king." He went to his palace of Falkland, and there lay down to die. It was at this period of sorrow, that an heir of sorrow was born—the unfortunate Mary Stuart, of whom the queen was delivered on the 8th of December. The tidings only seemed to aggravate his sufferings, by calling to remembrance how the Stuart race had succeeded to the crown; and he exclaimed impatiently, "It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass!" He then returned to his wonted murmur of "Fy! is Oliver fled? Is Oliver taken? All is lost!" As he was evidently approaching his end, Cardinal Beaton, who attended him, seemed only anxious about the appointment of a regency, and chiefly, as it appeared, upon his own account. Accordingly he thus addressed the king, when the latter was perhaps beyond the power of hearing, or at least of giving a reply: "Take order, Sir, with your realm. Who shall rule during the minority of your daughter? You have known my service. Shall there not be four regents chosen, and shall not I be principal?" Whether the king answered these leading questions or not, documents were afterwards produced in the affirmative: it is even added, that the hand of James, when life had departed, was made to subscribe a blank document, that it might be afterwards filled up at pleasure.

The death of James occurred on the 13th of December 1542, in the thirty-first year of his age. In his character, we perceive many noble qualities, which, properly cultivated, would have made him the delight and the blessing of his country. But, unfortunately, his youth was corrupted by a base and unfaithful guardianship, and his rule perplexed by difficulties for which the statesmen of the period had as yet no certain principles of government. The period in which he lived was the great era of the religious reformation in Europe; and of all countries under kingly sway, the reformation of Scotland was destined to be the most peculiar. It is not to be wondered at therefore, if the judgment of James V. was not only bewildered amidst the difficulties with which he was surrounded, but perverted and misled by such an adviser as Cardinal Beaton. Had he boldly thrown himself into the new movement, the power of which he had been taught so contemptuously to miscalculate, it is not too much to believe, that he might have triumphed over his difficulties, at the head of a cause that soon after was strong enough to depose his queen from the regency, and his

daughter from the throne. But it was not by kingly power, nor yet by priestly sufferance, that the reformation of Scotland was to be accomplished; and both king and cardinal were impelled by an authority which they would not recognise, to further the advancement of a cause which they hated, and whose adherents they consigned to persecution.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

Effects of the Wars between Scotland and England—Ascendancy of Feudalism in Scotland—Scottish Borderers—Agriculture of Scotland—Architecture—Commerce—Shipping—War signals—Mode of warfare of the two countries—Benefits derived by Scotland from her wars with England.

ALTHOUGH wars and invasions, battles, sieges, and combats have hitherto, through a fatal necessity, composed the principal part of a nation's history, yet beneath that troubled surface there is always a silent current of events which, however unmarked, is yet of far higher importance, and therefore more worthy of commemoration. It is not the mere victory however glorious that secures the liberty of a country, or the hero however successful who best promotes its happiness. Other events must predominate, and a different class of actors must labour, however unnoticed by the historian, to give a permanent and beneficial result to the otherwise destructive deeds of heroism. Fierce wars and conflicts only clear the ground for laying the foundation, and constructing the edifice. With a short summary of these effects we now interrupt the course of narrative. This is the more urgent, as Scotland had now reached the great crisis of her history in which all was to be lost or won—in which it was to be shown, whether the toil and bloodshed of centuries were to produce fruits worthy of such a sacrifice, or be utterly worthless and of no avail.

When we compare the condition of Scotland and England during the course of centuries over which we have passed, we find so great a difference, that we not only wonder at the rivalry between them, but that it could have continued so long and so destructively. The one country was wealthy, populous, and powerful; the other poor, thinly

peopled, and weak through division as well as poverty. What, then, could England gain by such a conquest? With her the possession of the barren soil of Scotland was more a mark of ambition than of gain, and therefore the attempt to win that stubborn land was but an episode, although a long one, in her historical career, amidst the more important aims of establishing her own national freedom, and achieving the conquest of France. But with Scotland, the conflict was the great, nay, almost the sole national task; the struggle for life itself as well as liberty, and upon which all her cares and energies were consequently expended. It was this, therefore, that influenced the good and the evil, the progress, the delay, and retrogression that occurred through all the stages of her political, intellectual, and social existence. Even the formation of her national character is also chiefly to be traced to this important source. How otherwise could we account for the many striking discrepancies that even yet continue to exist between the Scottish and English temperament, derived though both people are from the same source, inhabiting the same island, and speaking the same common tongue?

Many of the anomalies that pervaded the Scottish government are also to be traced to the same fruitful origin. This is especially to be observed in the important subject of Feudalism. In other countries, the feudal system, founded in conquest, and continuing through the necessity of maintaining by force what violence had won, abated with the cessation of resistance, and at last ceased with the establishment of regular monarchic government. But such an opportunity had not yet arrived in Scotland. While France and England were a full match for their enemies, and therefore had leisure to cultivate the arts of peace as well as war, the Scots were still compelled to continue the life-and-death struggle in which they had been so long involved. Hence the striking predominance of their aristocracy even to later periods than that of James V. The earl was strong and powerful according to his following, and when war called him into the field, he might, if he pleased, oppose royalty itself, as he had an army at his back. If to a strong host of military retainers, he added a high military reputation and great political sagacity, the chief direction of affairs was in his hands, let whoever might be the sovereign. Besides the season of war, which had only short intermissions, the Scottish noble had also those long minorities that prevailed since the reign of Robert III., when with a mere

child for the nominal sovereign, it might be said of Scotland, as of Judea in the days of misrule, "There was no king in Israel." As power was thus the property of the strongest, a furious competition was continually on foot, and hence the feuds and dissensions, which, as if by a fatal necessity, pervaded every portion of Scottish history. The powerful noble of the day, even the little tyrant of the district, had rivals to contest his claims, and it was only upon the overthrow of such opposition that he could establish his pretensions. Those also who had either high aims of ambition to gratify, or powerful antagonists to overthrow, endeavoured to strengthen themselves with what were called Bands of Man-rent, by which persons of equal or inferior rank engaged to support some powerful nobleman in every quarrel, in return for which he was to give them protection and aid; and, by such engagements, many a chief could rally the barons of a whole county in support of his personal feud. Such an aristocracy might not only be coerced, but turned to the highest account, in benefiting the realm—but it was only by such a one as Bruce himself, the greatest and best of nobles as of kings—one whom they at once recognised as their superior both in the council and the field. Even when it was necessary to drive such proud chiefs into banishment, the next English invasion made their absence felt, and the country suffered perhaps as greatly by the absence as the presence of a rebellious Douglas. Independently of this competition with the royal power, every nobleman was an uncontrolled sovereign within his own domains, who could sentence to death or absolve at pleasure: even the petty baron had also the power of pit and gallows, that is, the right either to imprison or execute a criminal. It was time, therefore, that this full-blown feudalism, the relic of barbarous ages, should have an end in Scotland, otherwise, sooner or later, the fate of Poland awaited her. And no ordinary force was needed to break the tie between lord and vassal, which centuries of mutual affection had so confirmed. To make men free even in their own despite, there was needed the interposition of an authority more powerful than that of Scottish kings; an authority which all could willingly acknowledge, and in whose presence all felt themselves equal.

The same necessity of maintaining a perpetual national conflict, which protracted for so long a period the reign of a feudal aristocracy in Scotland, entailed upon her also a national military banditti, who inhabited the counties lying on

the border of England. Those Scottish borderers, who under peaceful circumstances might have composed an industrious peasantry, were born, by the mere necessity of their position, into a very different character and distinction. Occupying a belligerent frontier which could only be maintained by hard fighting and warlike adventure, they constituted the guards and outposts of the camp, the forlorn hope of the army. Their cottages were therefore defensible points, not peaceful rural dwellings; and their fields were studied rather as places for ambush and encounter, than with reference to their agricultural capacities. Such was the borderer, a soldier from his birth, and as a soldier he lived and died. Peace might be proclaimed between the two kingdoms, and the inland counties of either might repose for a time in security; but that which was prized as the greatest of blessings by his countrymen of the interior, was to him the greatest of calamities. To him there had been no opportunity to plough and sow; he had been taught to depend for subsistence upon the plunder of his hereditary enemies; and it was upon their fields only that his harvest could be found, in the hamlets to be pillaged, and the cattle to be driven away. The borderers of the two countries, therefore, kept up the national warfare, indifferent to truce and treaty. As might be imagined also, the stern necessity of such a stirring adventurous life soon became so agreeable, that the bold moss-trooper laughed the arts of regular industry to scorn, and felt no labour so delightful as that of circumventing an enemy, and driving a prey. The stirring enterprise, and the rich profits of such a life, were equally tempting to the needy and adventurous border barons of every grade, who made war upon England on their own account, and looked upon the wealth of Cumberland and Northumberland as their own property, if they could but lay hands on it. It was not always, however, that a raid into England could be profitable or even safe: there were sheaves of forked arrows as well as of corn to welcome a hostile coming, and the mounted reivers of Liddisdale and Teviotdale often found the opposite marches too well furnished with gibbets to tempt a nigher approach. But still the moss-trooper must live, and in turning bridle homeward, he indemnified himself for his loss by plundering his own countrymen—an infamous practice which he excused under the soft expression of a “little shifting for his living.” This lawless licence was soon reduced into a regular system, so that the lords and chiefs of the border soon learned to

assess the industrious of their own country in black-mail, as the price of their protection, by which they not only engaged to guard their property from spoliation, but to make good whatever loss it might sustain from the rapine of others. Indeed, nothing could exceed the wildness and dissoluteness of these borderers ; and as they acknowledged no allegiance except to their marauding chiefs, they were so constantly employed in rebellion during the seasons of peace, that the kings of Scotland found them the most troublesome of all subjects. In time of war, however, their offences were generally overlooked, as they proved themselves good soldiers, whom no dangers could daunt nor difficulties weary ; and, from their knowledge of the ground upon the border, their vigilant habits, and dexterity in foraging, as well as their valour in action, the Scottish armies derived from them the same important advantages which those of Russia now enjoy from their regiments of Cossacks.

But it was not merely the marauding moss-troopers whom the wars between the two nations unfitted for the arts of industry and the cultivation of the soil, for the cause extended not only over the border but a considerable portion of the country. The utmost evil that a Scottish inroad could inflict upon England, was the temporary wasting of her border ; at the worst, the inundation seldom broke beyond the strong defences of Newcastle and Durham. Very different, however, was an invasion from the south into the Scottish territories. The English generally came in such force, that they could encamp in the heart of the country, and set fire to the chief towns, or even the capital itself. In this case, the Scottish peasants through a large portion of the land, sowed carelessly and in doubt the harvest that was liable to be reaped or destroyed by the enemy. To this uncertainty as to the fruit of their labours, was added the looseness of the tenure by which they occupied the soil. The leases were so short, often indeed lasting only from year to year, that there was no inducement even in time of peace for careful cultivation ; and they were also so arbitrary, that the tenant might be dispossessed at the shortest notice, through the caprice or avarice of his lord. In this case, the remedy was often worse than the grievance. When the farmer was superseded by a more tempting offer, he slew the new occupant ; and this outrage became so common, that parliament interfered with many heavy statutes against it, although in vain.

To these drawbacks against the progress of Scottish agri-

culture arising from the wars of England, was added the nature of the rent itself which was paid for the occupation of a farm. There were two classes of peasantry in Scotland. The first were the tenants, who held their land chiefly by the requital of military service : the second were the bondmen or *villains*, who were nothing more than the property of the soil, and sold or transferred in lease with the acres they cultivated. Of the first class, who were properly the farmers of Scotland, it may be alleged, that from the tenure on which they held their grounds, it was of more importance that they should know how to handle spear and sword, than ploughshare and spade. Of what value was the agriculturist to his lord, though he should be as skilful as Triptolemus himself, if he could not drive a prey, and fight stoutly in a fair field ? The farmer, besides his services in national warfare, was also obliged to attend in armour every warlike summons of his master, and take share in his every-day feuds, so that his work of the farm was necessarily entrusted to villains, women, and children. Such labour, therefore, was anything but skilful and productive, and it was only the simplest and coarsest produce that was attempted. Thus oats were grown as the principal food, and bear for making the common beverage of ale : as for wheat, that was a luxury fitted only for lordly palates, and therefore cultivated as a dainty. It was found more easy, however, as well as more safe, to breed herds of horses and cattle, and droves of sheep, which, on any sudden alarm, could be driven off to the woods and morasses, or penned within the lower story of the baronial castle. The general neglect of tillage produced by these causes, was followed by frequent and terrible visits of famine, in some of which the nobility were chiefly supported by grain brought from England and Ireland, and sold at four times the usual price. What, in such cases, must have been the condition of the commons and the poor ? To counteract these visitations, it was decreed by a parliament held in the reign of James I., that every farmer possessing a plough and eight oxen, should sow annually a firloft of wheat, half a firloft of pease, and *forty* beans, under a penalty of ten shillings ; and that every baron should do the same upon his own ground, under a forfeiture of four times the amount. But industry is not to be created by acts of Parliament, and the visits of famine were continued as before.

From precisely the same cause, the architecture of Scotland fared no better than its agriculture. It was a common



necessity for the peasantry of Scotland to fire their houses, and betake themselves to the woods and mountains on the approach of an enemy. In this case, there was no inducement whatever to build neat or durable habitations : on the contrary, the more loosely they were built, the more easily they could be destroyed, and would occasion less regret to the owner. When the invasion was over, he returned, and huddled up a new hut with sod and branches in two or three days, because the probability was, that in as many weeks it would share the fate of its predecessor. Even at the time of James I., as we are informed by Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.), who visited Scotland, houses in the towns, if built of stone, which was frequently not the case, were without lime ; while in the villages, they were roofed with turf, a cow's hide being suspended before the entrance instead of a door. These were sorry habitations, but the border huts were still worse, being composed of three or four poles, and such loose materials as were at hand. All this was hard measure ; but if any thing could reconcile the poor peasant to his fate, it was perhaps the circumstance that it was shared by his lord, whose mansion was subject to similar visitations. The castles of the Scottish nobility, therefore, were very different from the splendid piles of the English magnates. They were generally heavy square towers erected upon the most inaccessible point, and garrisoned rather than lacquyed by servants, who performed all the arduous duties of a beleaguered garrison. This castle being the acropolis of the district, the peasantry and serfs crowded their huts as near to it as reverence permitted, and thus rose a hamlet or village reposing beneath the shadow of its fortress. Even the principal towns, being equally subject to war and conflagration, exhibited a similar rudeness in their buildings, except it might be the fortress that relied upon its strength, or the church that trusted in its sacredness. The palaces, too, of the sovereigns—Holyrood, Falkland, and Linlithgow—rich though they undoubtedly were in the beauties of architecture, yet indicated also the rudeness of the times, having no better coverings than roofs of thatch. From the foregoing circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, if the taste of James III. and his grandson for splendid buildings found so little sympathy either from the nobles or the people. It seemed but a useless waste ; for who in such times could guarantee the safety of an edifice, however stately and beautiful ? Thus, it was only upon the ancient abbeys and cathedrals, which were supposed

to be placed under the peculiar guardianship of Heaven, that all the architectural taste and resources of the country were lavished.

A most important part in the history of an insular people must be that of its commerce; and as the Scots were destined to become a nation of merchants, it is of the utmost importance to trace the origin and progress of their traffic with other countries. Here, everything appeared favourable before the attempt of the English to subjugate them. Even so early as the time of Malcolm Canmore, the commercial impulse had been given to the country by his amiable and intelligent queen, so that merchants came from foreign lands to find a ready market in Scotland. The spirit of traffic thus introduced among a barbarous but intelligent and energetic people grew and prevailed, so that the Scots were soon able to disburse large sums which, at a later period, they would have been unable to furnish. Thus afterwards, while they became rich enough in victories, they were poor in that which constitutes the sinews of war, and even steel itself will lose its edge without the mixture of a richer metal. The arrival of the Flemish merchants into Scotland also at an early period; the incorporations into which they were formed, and the endowments that were granted them, not only increased the wealth of the nation, but promised to implant the spirit of manufacturing industry and commercial enterprise. But even when the prospect was most hopeful, the war with England commenced, and the appearance of Edward I. was a summons to the land no longer to strive for wealth and comfort, but for life itself. No wonder, therefore, that the death of Alexander III. was regarded as the close of the golden age of Scotland. And yet his example was not lost sight of. As soon as a breathing interval had been secured, an effort was made to renew the mercantile career, and the first praise of this is due to Sir William Wallace, the best and bravest of Scottish patriots. With a mind expanded far beyond the vulgar range of a mere soldier, he saw the necessity of commerce for securing the enfranchisement, and advancing the interests of his country; and accordingly, as soon as he was appointed Guardian of Scotland, one of his first acts was to negotiate a friendly commercial treaty with Flanders and the Hanseatic towns. All this would have been effectual, if peace had continued, but a war had commenced, of which centuries, not years, were to see the end. The commerce of Scotland therefore continued to advance very languidly in conse-

quence of the poverty of the towns, the absence of a middle class of society, the general unproductiveness of the country, and the want of industrious habits—all which, as we have seen, the existence of such a war had principally created. The chief commodities therefore that continued to be exported to Flanders and Lombardy up to the present period, were such raw materials as wool and hides, with cattle, greyhounds, and falcons. For these the Scots received manufactured goods in return, a barter that was decidedly to their disadvantage in the important article of profit.

A sketch of the commerce of Scotland necessarily includes some account of the Scottish shipping. Although it was but of small tonnage and limited employment until the reign of James IV., yet under that sovereign it improved so rapidly, that for a time it seemed questionable whether it might not obtain the superiority over the navy of England itself, and bear the leading naval flag of the island. But this short-lived superiority expired with him who had fostered it. It was an unnatural prosperity, to which the solid foundation of a rich and extensive commerce was wanting, and therefore Wood and the Bartons had no successors. Even the fatal rashness of James IV. himself tended to destroy the fabric he had created; for when he had resolved on his last disastrous expedition to England, he sent a naval armament to the aid of France, which never returned: the vessels, which the Scottish rulers after the battle of Flodden had neglected to recal, rotted in the harbours, or were sold by the French king for whatever price they would bring. James's enthusiastic patronage of ship-building also seems to have been alloyed with not a little extravagance, as appears from the construction of his favourite ship, the Great St Michael. This huge vessel in its construction exhausted all the forests of the well-wooded county of Fife, except that of Falkland. It was a hundred and twenty feet in length, and thirty-six in width, while the sides were ten feet in thickness, so that a cannon-ball discharged by way of experiment could not pierce them; and her crew consisted of three hundred mariners, and a thousand soldiers. But this enormous hulk, the materials of which might have sufficed for the construction of a valuable fleet of that period, was of no use whatever, except to show the folly of such an undertaking.

Scotland having been compelled in self-defence to become a warring nation against a neighbour so much superior to herself in power and resources, was thus obliged to study

with paramount earnestness the best modes of preserving her own existence; and it is to these therefore that we are to look, instead of the higher departments of civilization, for the indications of her talents and character. Her code of military signals was admirable. It was necessary, above all things, that the borders should not only be well defended, but closely watched; and the regulations for this purpose, which were established by Parliament in the reign of James II., were wisely suited to the emergency. The fords and passages of the Tweed being the highways of English invasion, bale-fires (beacons) were established there, to be lighted at needful occasion, and watchmen were appointed to superintend them. The number of lights that indicated the approach of the enemy, was a telegraph language which all could read. Thus, only one fire announced that the enemy were reported to be coming; when two were lighted, they intimated that their coming was certain. But when four blazed into the air at the same instant, and beside each other, it was a warning to the whole kingdom, that the invaders were approaching in great force. The signals were seen at Hume Castle, and transmitted by a similar process to Edgerton, from which they were passed to Soutra Edge; and thus, with the proverbial rapidity of light, the tidings were conveyed to Dunbar, Haddington, and Dalkeith, to Edinburgh and Lothian. Other bale-fires were also stationed at North Berwick Law and Dunpenden Law, for warning the inhabitants of the sea-coast. Thus the whole country could be signalled, and its fencible array mustered, in an incredibly short space of time. As soon as the signal was observed, from mountain to glen, from city to strath, every man from the age of sixteen to sixty was to arm according to the ground he held, from a complete suit of mail to a mere axe and target. Regulations being necessary to conduct an inroad as well as to repel it, laws were laid down, the violation of which was punished as treason. The principal of these, as might be expected, regarded the collection and partition of the plunder. No man was to abstract any portion of it on pain of death; and when collected, it was divided into three regulated portions for distribution.

In the history of the wars between the English and Scots, nothing is more striking than the fact, that the latter were always eager for a pitched battle, and generally had the worst of it. This impatience for conflict originated in the poverty of the country, that could not support an army so

long in the field as to protract the war into a campaign; at the end of forty days the soldier's provision was exhausted, and his term of military service finished. In this case, it was thought hard that the army should dissolve without a decisive blow. For such an encounter, they had an enemy generally superior in numbers to themselves, and much better equipped, so that in this case the wealth and resources of England proved more than a match for the poverty of Scotland. In war as a science the English had also a manifest superiority, in consequence of the experience they acquired in their numerous campaigns upon the Continent. It needed therefore a Scottish leader of transcendent military talent, so to handle his limited military resources, as to rout the English in a great engagement; and hence it is that the characters of such men as Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglasses, shine forth so conspicuously in the historical pages of Scotland. It was wonderful, however, how rapidly the Scots rallied even after the most disastrous defeat. Their army might be shivered into fragments, and scattered as if to the winds of heaven, but the indomitable spirit was unbroken; these scattered companies betook themselves to a war of skirmishes and surprisals, for which their country and mode of living were admirably fitted; and thus the victor, in the full flush of success, found that his difficulties had only commenced. Surrounded on all sides by guerilla bands that watched and seized every opportunity, to advance was perilous, and to retreat a certain loss. In this manner the most formidable campaigns and greatest successes of the Edwards were frequently attended with all the ruinous consequences of defeat, and the liberty of Scotland was recovered when its condition seemed the most irretrievable.

As the English were the assailants, their favourite weapon was best fitted for attack, that of the Scots on the contrary for defence; and both nations enjoyed the character of being matchless in their respective kinds of warfare, the former as unerring archers, and the latter as bold unflinching spearmen. Although the English shaft was of such deadly execution, that by itself it frequently obtained most signal victories both in France and Scotland, Bruce found means to arrest it in its flight, by letting loose a body of cavalry, who rode down and scattered the archers, and soon made way for his compact shiltrons, who, in standing fight, were wont to show themselves a match against the greatest odds. It is strange, however, that this simple

expedient was so seldom thought of in subsequent periods. Henry V. of England also adopted a plan in his French campaigns by which such a precaution, in course of time, would have come too late. As his chief force consisted of bowmen, while that of France was composed of cavalry, he caused each archer, in addition to his ordinary weapons, to carry a sharp-pointed stake, which was planted in the ground at the commencement of action, forming dangerous palisades, over which the horsemen could not ride, and behind which the stout yeomen emptied their quivers in full security. The Scottish sovereigns, conscious of the advantage possessed by the English through the use of the bow, endeavoured to introduce it among their people, and stringent laws were repeatedly made requiring them to muster at the parish butts, and perfect themselves in archery. But to excel in that weapon required such time, patience, and skill, that the Scots as repeatedly threw it aside for their favourite spear, which seems to have required little more than a stout heart and firm hand. But the time had now arrived when new weapons were to change the whole science of warfare. No sooner was gunpowder invented than its adaptation to destructive purposes was perceived, and it was first used with cannon and soon afterwards with hand-guns. Thus, the arrow and the spear were already giving way to bombards, culvers, falcons, and other pieces of heavy ordnance, and to the hagbuts and harquebusses with which soldiers had begun to arm themselves.

In reviewing the history of the wars between the two countries, in which Scotland was the weaker party, and so much the loser, we naturally inquire what advantage was gained as a counterpoise to such sacrifices and privations. It is evident, however, that with regard to Scotland, scarcely any price would have been too great that procured the advantage of unity among her strangely diversified population. This her war with England in a great measure effected. The strong and all-pervading pressure from without, occasioned a closer approximation among the parties within; a common danger produced a common brotherhood. It was the welding of different metallic rods into a solid iron bar by the fierce action of the furnace and the hammer. Of all these tribes none but the Celts continued to retain any thing like individuality, and this was mainly occasioned by their peculiarities of language, dress, habits, and government, which nothing short of a merciless and complete conquest could compel them to discard.

But a still higher advantage than even national unity can be traced to the same unlikely source. This was the formation of a national character, from which, results the most beneficial were to be derived. How little probability was there that Scotland, so poor in resources, and with a population so scanty and withal so divided, should survive the ruin of more powerful kingdoms, and attain so high a place among the nations! For such a destination, courage, energy, and perseverance of the highest kind were necessary; and to these qualities the Scots were trained by a severe and protracted tuition. The unflinching resolution with which they defended every barren acre of their beloved country, the sagacity with which they turned their scanty means to the best account, and the brave-hearted confidence with which they never despaired of freedom as long as a foot of land remained, were thus acquired, and now only waited the elevating and purifying influence of higher and holier principles. And these had already arrived. The Reformation had commenced; and upon the choice of the nation depended the question, whether all this harvest of struggle and suffering was to produce fruit, or be of no avail.

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## CHAPTER XXIII.

Learned men of Scotland—Sir Michael Scott, Duns Scotus, John Bassol—Historians: John de Fordun, Walter Bower, Andrew Winton, John Mair, Hector Boece, George Buchanan—Poets: Thomas Rymer, John Barbour, James I., Henry the Minstrel, Robert Henryson, William Dunbar, Gavin Douglas, Sir David Lindsay—Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen—Education in Scotland.

IN giving a sketch of the learning and learned men of Scotland during the preceding centuries, it becomes difficult to ascertain the proper point of commencement. Much indeed has been asserted of the rich library collected at Iona, and the proficiency that was made by the Culdees in literature and science, when the rest of Europe slumbered unmoved through the deep midnight of the dark ages. But these traditions are too uncertain for the purposes of history, and the early suppression of the order brought the intellectual labours of these good men, whatever they might be, to an abrupt termination. Leaving therefore the Cul-

dees and their colleges to the researches of the antiquary, we commence our account with the first well-authenticated personage in the list of Scottish learning. And this is no other than the far-famed Sir MICHAEL SCOTT, a name still familiar to the peasantry of our day, and whose fame among them rests, not upon his unquestionable learning and great acquirements, but the occult arts with which they were connected, and through which he obtained the reputation of being the Merlin of Scotland.

Sir Michael, who was born about the beginning of the thirteenth century, after acquiring the mere rudiments of learning, which was all that his country at that time could furnish, repaired to the University of Oxford, where he devoted himself to the study of the Latin and Arabic languages, and the sciences of Astronomy and Chemistry. From Oxford, he went to the University of Paris, where he made such proficiency in mathematics and theology, that he obtained the surname of Michael the Mathematician, and was honoured with a doctorship of divinity. He then travelled through various countries, visiting their colleges and extending his reputation; and having spent several years in this pilgrimage in quest of knowledge, he returned to his native land near the time of the death of Alexander III. After this melancholy event had happened, he was one of the ambassadors sent by the Scottish estates to bring over the young Maiden of Norway to the vacant throne. Notwithstanding the great acquirements of Sir Michael, he was by no means exempt from that superstitious spirit which, perhaps, more than even the love of science itself, animated the researches of the period. Astronomy was valued merely from its supposed connection with futurity, and the stars were studied not with a reference to their own revolutions, but to those which they were supposed to effect upon earth; while chemistry was in like manner supposed to impart the power of working miracles to those who penetrated its wondrous and profound recesses. It was with a view to these advantages that Scott had prosecuted his researches; and while he was venerated by his countrymen as a prophet and magician, it was perhaps because he believed himself possessed of these attributes that he so easily succeeded in persuading others that he had them. And thus, with all his learning and advantages that raised him so highly above his cotemporaries, such a scholar was fitted to deepen, rather than to disperse the darkness of his day and country.



The next in the list of distinguished scholarship was John of Dunse, better known by the name of JOHN DUNS SCOTUS. We are told, that although of humble origin, he so astonished certain simple-minded ecclesiastics by his aptitude in committing Latin sentences to memory, that they took him to their monastery, and educated him for the church. Soon after his induction into the clerical office, the merciless Edward I. commenced his aggressions upon Scotland, in one of which Duns Scotus, with twelve friars of his brotherhood, was carried prisoner into England. This translation, however, was in his favour, for on being set at liberty, he studied at Merton College, where he made such proficiency that he was appointed professor of divinity at Oxford. Here his renown as a lecturer became so great, that we are assured no less than thirty thousand students were attracted by it to the university. After some time he was advanced to the university of Paris, a place of still higher literary celebrity, and there his fame was so fully established, that according to the fashion of the times, a new name was imposed upon him, which was, the "Subtle Doctor." As there was a keen competition at that early period among all the universities of Europe to secure the services of the most eminent scholars, Duns Scotus was invited to Cologne, to found a university in that city, where he died still in the prime of manhood, in A.D. 1308. Except so far as the mere accident of his birth advanced the fame of Scotland in foreign countries, we can find little or no effect that he produced in his own, most of his life having been spent abroad. Nothing could exceed the fervour with which his works were studied among the learned of Europe, and their extravagant praises of those metaphysical disquisitions which are now so universally thrown aside. Another eminent Scotsman, a pupil of John of Dunse, who followed in the steps of his master, was JOHN BASSOL. He too became so famous, that he was called the "Most Methodical Doctor"—a title indicating wherein his excellence lay at that metaphysical period, when infinitesimal hair-splitting was the quality in greatest account. Like his preceptor also, most of his life was spent in England and abroad, and chiefly at Mechlin, where he was professor of theology for twenty-five years, and in which charge he died in 1347. But indeed, how miserably out of place would such scholars have been in Scotland! Iron-clothed barons, few of whom could read or write, and monks who knew nothing but what was in their breviary, were not likely to

be edified with expositions of Aristotle's Logic, or refutations of Thomas Aquinas; and the predictions of such a person as Sir Michael Scott, or his thaumaturgic experiments in chemistry, would have been held in more account than all that Duns Scotus or Bassol could write or lecture.

Such was the fruitless commencement of Scottish metaphysics, which in after ages was to shoot up anew, and be so wonderfully prolific. In the mean time, it was of much higher importance for the country that she should possess faithful historians and chroniclers, men who, whether they wrote in monk-latin or the vernacular, in prose or in rhyme, should preserve and transmit her past history. This was the peculiar necessity of Scotland, from the fierce havoc which Edward I. had made among the historical records, and the zeal with which he had laboured to annihilate every trace of national independence, so that in a short time the want must have been wretchedly supplied by oral tradition and vague conjecture. But such a direful consequence was in a great measure averted by the patriotic labours of JOHN DE FORDUN. This historian was born at Fordun in Kincardineshire, about the middle of the fourteenth century, and was a canon of the church of Aberdeen. Grieving over the loss which his country had sustained, he resolved to collect as far as was possible the mutilated fragments of the national history, and arrange them into an entire work, so that the consequences of Edward's malignant deed might be in some degree counteracted. And truly, in commencing his task, no person could better perceive the truth of the simple maxim, that to destroy is easier than to create. Other historians have the materials within their reach; but in this instance they had been scattered to the winds, and must be searched for if they yet survived. Fordun commenced his historical labours staff in hand—traversed not only the districts of his own country, but those of England and Ireland—halted at the universities, churches, and monasteries, wherever a tradition of the past days of his country was circulated, or a single scrap in the form of a document preserved—and carefully noted down whatever he had heard, read, and observed, that seemed fitted for his purpose. After a long and laborious pilgrimage, that was well repaid by a voluminous collection of historical facts, he returned home, to apply himself to the task of reducing them to a continuous narrative—and the result was the *Scotichronicon*, a history of Scotland in five books, that ended with the death of

David I. The earlier part of the work contained in the two first books is as fabulous as the early history of most countries, and therefore worthy of little or no attention ; but the rest, comprising the more important periods of our national annals, is not only marked with a character of great fidelity, but invaluable as a record of what would otherwise have been lost. As this venerable chronicler, from the approach of age and ill health was unable to continue his task, he devolved upon WALTER BOWER the duty of completing it, and the materials he had collected for the purpose. Bower, who was abbot of St Colm, finished the narrative in sixteen books, which brought the history down to the death of James I. It must be acknowledged that this important *Scotichronicon*, with all its acknowledged value, was disfigured not only by the barbarous Latin style in which it was written, but the credulity with which its testimony was frequently marred. It was rather a collection for future historians out of which to select their materials, than a history dependent upon its own merits, and as such, it has proved of the highest importance. As this work, on account of the language in which it was written, was scarcely intelligible to any except the clergy, an author contemporary with Fordun appeared, who attempted to remove the difficulty, by writing a history of Scotland not only in the common tongue, but also in verse. This was ANDREW WYNTOWN, prior of St Serf's Inch in Lochleven, who rhymed the history of his country in nine books, under the name of a "*Cronykil*." That he might leave nothing omitted, he commences with the creation of the world and its subsequent history ; and having thus cleared his way through five of the nine books, he then enters upon his proper subject, which he carries on to the death of the Duke of Albany in 1420.

Two other Scottish historians remain to be mentioned ; these were JOHN MAJOR or MAIR, and HECTOR BOECE. The work of Mair, entitled "*De gestis Scotorum*," in six books, was published at Paris in the year 1521. He was a veracious and exact, but withal a dry and uninteresting narrator, so that his history never seems to have found much acceptance. Boece was an author of a very different stamp, being not only a credulous and fanciful, but also an eloquent and attractive writer. His history was written in eighteen books, and part of a nineteenth ; and notwithstanding its serious faults, it might have continued, from the attractive style in which it was written, to be a favourite, had not the

time been at hand when it, as well as its predecessors, was to be superseded. This was effected by the great national history written at a later period by GEORGE BUCHANAN, to whom Boece and Mair, Wyntown, Bower, and Fordun, had effectually acted as pioneers and labourers. He selected his materials from the copious mass which their labours had gathered, and produced a work in the language of classical Rome such as Livy or Tacitus might have envied.

Such were the historians by whom the havoc of a tyrant more merciless than Time was in a great degree repaired—by whose labours their country was restored to that place which it was entitled to hold in the history of nations. We now turn to another order of men, of whom Scotland was prolific, and who perhaps effected more in the formation of the national character than either her early philosophers or historians. These were the poets, whose rhymes were music to every ear, whose names were cherished as household words, and whose strains were calculated to call forth and mature heroic energy and domestic tenderness alike in hut and castle.

In giving a short sketch of the minstrelsy of Scotland, the first name to be mentioned is that of THOMAS RYMER or LEARMONT, who lived in the reign of Alexander III., and during the troubles that followed, until near the close of the thirteenth century. His fame, however, as a prophet, seems to have been superior to that which he merited as a poet, so that the predictions of Thomas Rymer continued to be published, read, and believed in, by many of the common people even to our own day, and it was in his prophetic character that he was more commonly mentioned by the ancient Scottish historians. But the discovery and publication, during the present century, of his romantic tale of Sir Tristrem, has revealed him to us in his proper light, not only as a poet of no mean excellence, but also as the author of the earliest poem written in the English tongue.

A still more illustrious poet than the Rymer was JOHN BARBOUR, Archdeacon of Aberdeen, who was born, as is generally supposed, soon after the death of Robert Bruce, and who studied at Oxford, to which place he received a safe conduct from Edward III. The poetical task which he undertook, was the life and achievements of Bruce, than which no attempt could have been more attractive at that time to the heart of a Scottish poet. The opportunities of the archdeacon for accomplishing such a work were also highly favourable; the deeds of that great hero were still

the theme of every tongue, and many persons must have been still alive who had shared in them. It is also gratifying to find, that such a national attempt was so duly estimated and patronised, for it was rewarded with a pension, which was continued to the day of the author's death. His *Bruce* is a truly noble composition, and well suited to its hero, in whose life the thunder of the conflict, and the stern vicissitudes of an adventurous career, were so intermixed and softened with bursts of patriotic feeling and touches of gentlest tenderness. The poet's glorious apostrophe to Freedom, after describing the iron bondage under which Scotland was crushed by Edward I., has seldom if ever been surpassed. Another large work which Barbour wrote was a *History of Scotland*, probably also in verse. If equal to his *Bruce*, it must have indeed been an invaluable production, but it has unfortunately perished.

The next in succession was that rare character, a poet-sovereign. This was JAMES I., with the tale of whose iniquitous imprisonment by Henry IV., and the education he received in England, our readers are already familiar. To all the learning and accomplishments of the period, he added that which his teachers could not give him—the gift of poetry. To this he seems to have made all his other literary acquirements subservient; and in the two great poets of England, Chaucer and Gower, he had examples to direct his taste, as well as excite a spirit of emulation. In it, also, he enjoyed a delightful solace of his captivity, and from his place of seclusion several of his sonnets were addressed to Joanna Beaufort, the chosen of his affections, who afterwards became his queen. The chief poetical production of James I., called the *King's Quair*, was also written in England, and such are its poetical merits, that it might bear a comparison even with the best works of Chaucer. It is probable that the cares of government, and the difficulties by which he was surrounded, left this accomplished king little opportunity, after his return to Scotland, of cultivating an art in which he was so well fitted to excel.

But the great poet of the people, the Homer of Scotland, was undoubtedly HENRY the Minstrel, commemorated through every generation since his own day under the homely title of Blind Harry. His profession, although so highly honoured by knights and nobles during the bright periods of chivalry, had now fallen into such disrepute, that the minstrel who sang ballads from house to house for a livelihood, was classed by the severe statutes of parliament

with "vagabonds, fools, and such-like idle people," and liable to the same arrest and punishment. Harry however, who wandered and sang about the middle of the fifteenth century, seems, by the superiority of his talents, to have made himself an exception to the general disrepute of his order. As his title intimates, he was blind, and not only so, but we are further told, he was born blind—an assertion however which, as in the case of Homer, we are justified in receiving with considerable hesitation. How indeed can we believe that men could so faithfully delineate persons and events, and envelope them in sunshine, whose eyes had never opened to the light of day, and with whom, nature had been a universal blank? The subject chosen by our minstrel was the life and exploits of Sir William Wallace, a theme of song that could never fail to be attractive to Scottish ears; and the facts themselves were taken from a life of that hero, written in Latin by John Blair, his chaplain. The poem of Wallace, in elevation of sentiment and delineation of character, is certainly inferior to Barbour's Bruce, but in poetical strength and richness as certainly surpasses it. Its verses have the stirring power of a trumpet; and even the exaggeration with which the deeds and prowess of its warriors were magnified, only tended the more completely to charm the common mind, and make the rhapsodies of Harry more universally popular. It would be difficult indeed to estimate the full benefit which he and Barbour conferred upon their country. By adopting the most important period of its history, and the two heroes by whom its events were directed, they have brought into open day those personages and events that might otherwise have been contracted or obscured. Thus the deeds and sayings of Wallace and Bruce are as familiar to us as if the heroes had lived but yesterday, instead of six hundred years ago. But a still nobler effect which they produced, is to be found in the patriotic spirit they kindled when the fate of Scotland was at the worst. As might be expected also, Blind Harry succeeded in retaining a greater share of popularity than his more accomplished rival. Barbour, whose strain was the more elevated, must have been in a great measure unintelligible to "village churls;" and therefore his work, which addressed itself so especially to the high-born and the educated, was laid aside, when the course of instruction was improved, and the rude language of the thirteenth century modernised. But the commons would not so forego the favourite and instructor of their youth, the blind old

minstrel. The supernatural strength of Wallace animated by a burning patriotism, his hair-breadth escapes and astounding successes, were so endeared to them, that even when the language in which these had been delivered was becoming obsolete, they still clung to the wondrous tale, and the patriot-hero whom it so vividly embodied. A wish so strong could scarcely fail to be gratified, and therefore the work of Blind Harry was renovated, if we may so use the expression, by Hamilton of Gilbertfield, who adapted the orthography, and in some measure the antiquated expressions, to the comprehension of the eighteenth century. In this form, the work still continued to retain its popularity; and while animating modern heroism, it kindled the poetic spirit of the youthful Burns, and led to the production of that spirit-stirring lyric, the address of Bruce to his soldiers at Bannockburn.

Another poet, but of a very different character from Henry, his compositions being chiefly of a literary and pastoral character, appeared about the same period. This was ROBERT HENRYSON, a schoolmaster of Dunfermline, whose chief works were a collection of Fables, suggested for the most part by those of Æsop and Chaucer, the "Testament of Cresseid," and "Robene and Makyne," the best of his productions, as well as the earliest pastoral poem in the language of our island. His poetical writings, from their superior excellence, must have gone far to improve the national taste. Next to Henryson, comes a poet of whose personal history little is known. This was WILLIAM DUNBAR, who after educating himself for the church, became a hanger-on upon the court of James IV. for a church benefice, which he never obtained, even though his wishes were so humble as to be limited to a "kirk scantily covered with heather," and though he sought to procure it by officiating as court-laureate, pageant-maker, jester, and buffoon. He wrote a beautiful allegorical poem on the union of king James with Margaret of England, entitled the "Thistle and the Rose." Another of his poems, the "Friars of Berwick," contains some of that keen poetical satire against the profligate lives of the clergy, which was so soon to burst forth in abundance, and with such distinguished effect. But his best production is called "a Dance," in which the seven deadly sins are impersonated with fearful distinctness and power. As classical poetry was now chiefly admired and cultivated from the example of Greece and Rome, the writers of which countries were now becoming better known, a

Scottish poet appeared upon the field, from whose name and race nothing in so gentle a form as verse had hitherto been anticipated. This was GAVIN DOUGLAS, Bishop of Dunkeld, and son of the redoubted Bell-the-cat. The chief poetical work to which he devoted himself, was a translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, a task which he executed with wonderful spirit and fidelity, and by which he must have given a powerful impulse to that growing literary tendency which was so soon to break forth into action. It is here worthy of remark, that as the earliest poetry in our language was written by a Scot, the earliest translation of an ancient classical poet in that tongue was produced by one of the same country.

But the time had arrived, when poetry was to give utterance to different sentiments than those she had hitherto harped in love-bowers and trumpeted in battle-fields. Over the whole continent the absurdities of the Romish church and the vices of the clergy had provoked that satirical mood which such elements invariably call into action: wit embodied in verse was universally acceptable, and men who were finally to be enlightened by arguments and sermons, were first roused to inquiry by pasquinades and lampoons. It was in this way that the reformation was heralded in most of the countries of Europe. It would have been strange if in Scotland, where the evil was so gross, and poets so plentiful, this new language had found no echo. A man therefore appeared at the right time, and admirably fitted for the crisis. This was Sir DAVID LINDSAY of the Mount, one of the courtiers of James IV., afterwards a favourite of James V., by whom he was made Lion King at arms, and finally, a personal friend of John Knox and the earliest Scottish reformers. Lindsay indeed showed little excellence in the loftier departments of poetry, to which he made no pretensions, and for which he does not appear to have been qualified. But in keen perception and caustic wit; in language that permeated to the root of whatever he assailed, and fearlessness in the use of it, he appears to have had no equal, even among his caustic countrymen during the progress of that important revolution. These qualities he fully brought to bear upon the church of Rome and its powerful supporters; while the wit and glee of his satirical productions disarmed the resentment which more serious appeals would have provoked, and obtained a hearty welcome from every class. Of these productions, his principal work was the "Three Estates," a morality play of



great length and fulness, so that its acting occupied several days, and in which the chief personages, who were partly real and partly allegorical, were so introduced, as to bear upon the vices of the day. A short anecdote of the man, will show the fearless zeal with which he could assail the hierarchy even in its pride of place, and in the hour of its strength and terrors. One day, when James V. was surrounded by his courtiers and prelates, Sir David approached the royal presence, and preferred a singular petition: it was, to be promoted to the office of the king's master-tailor, as the person who held it was lately dead. The lords and bishops stared, while the king expressed astonishment at his seeking such a place, as he could neither shape nor sew. "That is no matter, Sir," replied the poet, "for you have given bishoprics and benefices to many standing here about you, and yet they can neither teach nor preach; and why not I as well be your tailor, though I can neither shape nor sew?" After the death of James V., the clergy burned his poems and the people learned them by heart, while either process only made them more popular. Indeed, that popularity which the works of Sir David Lindsay originally obtained, continued to near our own day, and he was the religious poet of the cottage, until his obsolete language was no longer intelligible to our peasantry.

Hitherto, the greater part of the literary and intellectual men of Scotland had been beholden for their education to England or the continent; and without such aid, it is probable that they would have slumbered in their cells, and died unnoticed. The source of this national defect among the Scots is obvious. Men who are fighting for their lives, are not founders of universities; and the desperate struggle with England, afforded neither inclination to attend them, nor funds with which to endow them. Yet it is gratifying to perceive, that as soon as Scotland had achieved a breathing interval, she endeavoured to emulate her wealthier and more fortunate neighbours by the erection of colleges. This great national boon however, was the work neither of kings nor parliaments, but of eminent individuals, the first of whom was Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St Andrews, the founder of the university of that city. Being elected to the episcopal charge of that see in 1404, and grieving at the gross ignorance and corruptions of the clergy, he hoped to remedy the evil by the establishment of a university in St Andrews. The erection was finished in 1411, and he obtained for it the papal confirmation on the following year.

The government and course of instruction appear to have been taken from those of the university of Paris. Strange to tell, however, while the laity gladly availed themselves of this new opportunity, the clergy, for whose improvement it was chiefly established, seemed to find its lessons too difficult, and its discipline too rigid; and thus as they continued to doze in their former ignorance, the rude commons were only the more confirmed in their suspicion, that scholarship was a useless thing. In this manner was the public spirit of the founder requited, as well as the lessons of the earliest teachers, who gave their labours without fee. James I., himself an accomplished scholar and ardent lover of learning, endeavoured on his accession to forward the interests of the infant university. Here, however, he was thwarted by an idle and dissolute priesthood, who acknowledged no authority but that of Rome, which was too distant to control them, and by the state of his exchequer, which had been emptied by the avaricious nobles.

The patriotic example of Wardlaw was followed by William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. This prelate, in the reign of James II., obtained a bull from Pope Nicholas V., on the 7th of January 1450, authorising the establishment of a university in Glasgow in all time to come, because it was a "notable place, with good air, and plenty of provisions for human life." The institution was finished in the following year, and a hundred members incorporated, most of whom were of the clerical order, and probably allured within its walls by the high privileges and exemptions with which a residence in the college invested them.

The next in the list of these illustrious national benefactors, was William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen. After having studied in France, and held the office of professor of law, first at the university of Paris, and afterwards at Orleans, he returned to his native country, and in course of time was elevated to that bishopric, the city of which he resolved to make a seat of learning. To this he was the more strongly excited, by the depth of that general ignorance into which he was transported, compared with the sphere in which he had formerly laboured. He applied to Pope Alexander VI. for a bull authorising the establishment of a college in Aberdeen, which he obtained in 1494; but the institution itself was not built till twelve years afterwards, under the title of King's College. It is to be observed likewise, that in this generous task, Elphinston went beyond his predecessors; for while Wardlaw and Turnbull devoted their la-

bours to the establishment of their respective institutions, the bishop of Aberdeen gave his fortune also, which was not a small one. This large-hearted patriotic man so loved his country, that after the disastrous battle of Flodden, he was never seen to smile ; and he died in 1514, at the age of eighty-three, eight years after his college was established.

Such were the three great educational institutions of Scotland, which, although they did not commence until so late a period as the fifteenth century, were completed within a hundred years. The purposes at first contemplated in their erection, were of a twofold character. The most important of these, was to raise the national clergy from the sloth and ignorance in which they were buried, to the clerical standard of England and the continent ; and for this purpose, divinity and the canon law were made the most essential branches of a university education. This chief end being served, it was also found necessary to provide the country with able legislators, sheriffs, and lawyers ; and therefore, besides these two great departments, the civil law, physics, ethics, logic, humanity, and whatever else was comprehended at that time under the title of the arts, were taught to those who sought after them. Such, however, was the importance attached to divinity, and the canon and civil law, that these only were entitled learned professions, while the others were reckoned of comparatively little importance. Besides this exclusiveness, by which the more general branches of learning were kept in abeyance, there was a general scarcity of books, most of them being imported from England or the continent. This dearth was occasioned by the dilatory introduction of the art of printing into Scotland, which was not till 1508, when the first book was printed by Walter Chepman. The Scottish parliament endeavoured to extend the benefits of these universities by statutes ; and it was enacted in 1496, that every baron and freeholder, under a penalty of twenty pounds, should send his sons to school at the age of nine, where after learning Latin, they were to spend three years at a university, or as it was called, a school of Art and Jury. With regard to the lectures and training of these colleges, they had their full share of that scholastic pedantry and trifling with which the learning of the time was overlaid. The universities, therefore, were not so much seats of learning prepared for present use, as for coming generations—buildings erected, and endowments provided, for better days and more effective occupants, when a purer faith al-

ready in advance was to free the intellect from the bondage which a false church had imposed upon it. The TRUTH alone was to make them free.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

A. D. 1542 to A. D. 1558.

Earl of Arran appointed regent—Henry VIII. proposes a marriage between his son and Mary Stuart—On refusal proclaims war—Battle of Ancrum Muir—Martyrdom of George Wishart—Cardinal Beaton assassinated—Labours of John Knox at St Andrews—Battle of Pinkie—Mary Stuart sent to France—Mary of Guise appointed regent—Her plans opposed—Riot in Edinburgh on the anniversary of Saint Giles—Marriage of the French Dauphin and Mary Stuart—Persecution of the reformed by Mary of Guise—They are joined by John Knox.

### CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry VIII.	Francis I.	Charles V.	Paul III.
Edward VI.	Henry II.	Philip II.	Julius III.
Mary.			Paul IV.
Elizabeth.			

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1553. Lady Jane Grey beheaded.
- 1555. Protestant bishops burned in England by Queen Mary.
- 1556. Charles V. resigns his dominions, and retires to a monastery.
- 1558. Calais, the last possession of the English in France, taken.

ON the death of James V. the government of Scotland was again thrown, as of wont, into the helplessness of an inter-regnum, but such as it had never yet endured. A mighty principle, by which not merely the leaders, but the people, were divided into two parties equal in power and resources, had stepped into the field, and for a conflict in which all inferior principles were to be swallowed up. The question was not now whether England or Scotland, but whether light or darkness—whether heaven or hell, should thenceforth bear the sway. The two countries forgetting their military feuds and political ambition, had now a contest immeasurably superior, of which, the motto of the one party was—the BIBLE, and of the other—the CHURCH. Of the two countries, England, from her position and opportunities, was considerably in advance, so that she had disowned the pope, and proclaimed herself a protestant nation. But Scotland even here was still struggling in the rereward. She had not yet

fully recovered from the life-and-death grapple in which she had freed herself from a stronger but not a braver antagonist, and therefore the doctrines of the reformation had appealed to her while pitching a camp, or preparing for conflict. The protestants of Scotland must now join with protestant England, to gain a victory compared with which Bannockburn was of little account. This principle must be kept in mind, while we read of alliances that seem unnatural between Scots and English in the advancement of a common national cause, and of the leagues of the Scots against the French, their old national friends and allies. This too must be the apology of the Scottish protestants for joining hands with the Achans who were sitting in their camps and councils. How could they at that time ascertain a fact only now beginning to be detected, that some of those who fought stoutly in their cause, were the hirelings and stipendiaries of England, and others the adherents of Rome?

On the death of James V., Cardinal Beaton, who was lying in wait for the regency, attempted to secure it by virtue of the late king's will; but the document was rejected as a forgery by the Scottish nobles, who knew his ambition or feared his talents; and instead of the dangerous churchman, the Earl of Arran, heir to the throne after the infant Mary, was promoted to the head of the government. The election of this nobleman gave high satisfaction to the reformed party, for he was supposed not only to be friendly to their opinions, but to have had his name placed at the head of that black list which Beaton put into the hand of the late king for proscription. The first proceeding of the new regent justified the surmises of the reformers, for he not only countenanced their proceedings, but protected two of their principal preachers, Thomas Williams a black friar, and John Rough an English refugee, the former of whom he appointed to be his chaplain. This movement, partial and temporary though it was, materially advanced the reformation in Scotland.

In the mean time Henry VIII., who had swollen into a diseased state of corpulency, and become only more furious and tyrannical, took measures, after shedding a tear or two over the untimely death of his nephew, to profit by the event. The heiress to the Scottish throne was the infant Mary, and her union with Edward, his son and heir, now a boy, would unite the two kingdoms under one crown. It was a conjuncture such as had not taken place since

the days of Edward I. of England, when the then Prince of Wales was betrothed to the Maid of Norway. But Henry was not an Edward I. to realise a plan so well devised. At first he had recourse to policy, by dismissing without ransom the Scottish nobles and barons who had been taken prisoners at the rout of Solway, and by promoting the restoration of the Douglasses, whose doom of forfeiture the Scottish parliament had reversed, after the death of their sovereign. Upon the co-operation of these powerful leaders, joined to that of the reformed in Scotland, he trusted, and with justice, to effect the union of the whole island under one sceptre. But he was too impatient to wait the gradual development of such a measure. Even his first movement betrayed his purpose, and was sure to defeat it; for he demanded not only that the royal infant should be delivered into his hands, but also the Scottish fortresses, and the government of the whole kingdom. The resentment occasioned by these arrogant claims was artfully improved by Cardinal Beaton. He flung his church-money abroad among the returned nobles; he gratified their needy dependents with church preferments; and by these conciliatory arts, was soon at the head of a strong alliance against any union with England. The success of his intrigues was also crowned by the recovery of the weak and wavering Earl of Arran, who publicly abjured the cause of the Reformation, joined the cardinal in persecuting its adherents, and became the patron of the French party in Scotland.

Changes like these were enough to madden the hot temper of the king of England, and drive him into extreme measures. To punish the regent and the returned nobles for their defection, overthrow the power of the cardinal, and ruin the French cause, he commanded his two wardens of the marches, Sir Ralph Evres and Sir Brian Latoun, to invade Scotland, with a merciless commission to slay, waste, and destroy. They discharged their task in a spirit so worthy of their master, that few towns or villages in the west border and Liddesdale were left standing. Henry in his overweening fury had conferred upon Evres by deed of gift the rich counties of Merse and Teviotdale, without pausing to reflect that the estates of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Angus, lay within these districts; and thus he alienated from his cause the bravest and most powerful of his supporters. Douglas swore that he would write a deed of infestment upon the warden's skin, with sharp pens and bloody ink, and advanced against the invaders to make his

purpose good. His party, however, was so small, that he could do nothing but watch the proceedings of the invaders, until he was joined by Norman Leslie, master of Rothes, and Walter Scott of Buccleugh, at the head of their armed followers. The English had made wild havoc among the tombs of the Douglasses at Melrose, and Angus, burning with rage at the insult offered to his ancestors, advanced, although still with very inferior forces, to the encounter. The battle took place upon Ancrum Moor. The Scots, by the advice of Buccleugh, were withdrawn from the ridge of a hill on which they were posted, to the plain below, called Peniel Heugh, leaving only the camp boys and followers upon the summit; upon which the English, thinking they had fled, hurried, horse and foot, across the hill to give chase, and thus fell into the snare. With ranks broken and wearied, and horses blown by the ascent, they charged the mass of spearmen drawn up to receive them below, and were soon routed and pursued with pitiless slaughter, their ravages having made them odious to the whole country. The two leaders, Evres and Latoun, were left among the slain. Henry, furious at this discomfiture, swore revenge against the Earl of Angus, whom he looked upon as a traitor, and doomed to a traitor's death; but the latter on hearing of it coolly replied, "Is our brother angry that I have avenged on Evres the injury done to the tombs of my ancestors? They were better men than he, and in honour I could do no less. And will he take my life for that? Little knows King Henry the skirts of Cairntable. I will keep myself there from the whole English army."

This fierce mode of courtship on the part of the English king, only made the Scots more determined against the proposed union, and gave fresh strength to the party of Beaton and France. The cardinal signalised this renewal of his power by fresh acts of religious persecution, and at length ventured upon an immolation which he long had at heart. This was the martyrdom of George Wishart, the most eloquent and influential of all the reformers who had yet appeared in Scotland, and affectionately recognised as the chief representative of those principles for which he was now called to suffer.

Of the early life of this illustrious martyr little can now be ascertained. He was of respectable birth, being of the family of Pitarrow. After teaching as a schoolmaster at Montrose, he went to England, studied for some time at Bennet College, Cambridge, and returned to his native

country in 1543. He came in the spirit of an apostle, and commenced the devoted life of a preacher, exposing the corruptions of the established faith, and unfolding the doctrines of salvation. His piety, his fearless zeal, and simple persuasive eloquence, attracted multitudes, who thronged and listened wherever he appeared. This success was hateful to the clergy, who would have laid hands upon him instantly and without scruple, had he not been befriended by several powerful lords and barons: in his journeyings to and fro he was also attended by adherents, carrying weapons according to the travelling fashion of the period; while the most affectionate of his followers and pupils—no other than John Knox himself—generally waited at his side with a heavy two-handed sword. As Wishart was thus so effectually hedged, all that could be done was to procure his assassination; but though the cardinal caused two attempts of this nature to be made, they were unsuccessful. But the time and the opportunity at last arrived which the martyr himself had often anticipated; and he fell into the hands of his enemies at Ormiston, the house in which he rested being surrounded at midnight by armed men, commanded by the Earl of Bothwell, who, after pledging himself for the safety of Wishart, basely surrendered him to the cardinal. The trial, which immediately followed, was before a tribunal wholly composed of ecclesiastics, with Beaton for president and director, as neither the regent nor the lay judges would countenance their proceedings. The sentence, of course, was death, and the execution took place at St Andrews, on the 20th of March 1546. Beaton, who apprehended an attempt to rescue the prisoner even at the last moment, had adopted every precaution to prevent it, and the guns of his strong fortress were so pointed, as to command the place of execution. The martyr's last prayers at the stake were those of resignation and holy triumph, while his parting address to the crowd was such as they would long afterwards remember. After earnestly entreating them not to be offended at the torments he was about to suffer, he exhorted them to continue stedfast in the faith he had preached, notwithstanding the trials that might await them for holding it. He added: "This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if any persecution come to you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such,



that my soul shall sup with my Saviour, Jesus Christ, this night ere it be six hours, for whom I suffer this." His body was consumed to ashes amidst the loud weeping of the spectators.

In signing the death-warrant of the righteous Wishart, the cardinal had unwittingly subscribed his own. His career, hitherto so rapid and prosperous, had now attained its height. The regent was his tool ; Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, was his fast friend ; those who could not love him were yet compelled to fear him, and the great object of his ambition had been reached, for the government of Scotland was in his hands. Henry of England also, who had sought his ruin, not only by open violence, but infamous secret practices, and plotted his death by assassination through the discontented lords, had been baffled at every point. Well, therefore, might Beaton exclaim, as he is said to have done, when warned of the danger in which he stood : "Tush ! a fig for the fools ; a button for the bragging heretics, and their assistants in Scotland !" He had also strengthened his castle of St Andrews so effectually, that it seemed equally impregnable to surprise and open attack. But a few determined hearts, whom no difficulty could daunt, had resolved to cut him off even in his place of strength. The chief of these was Norman Leslie, one of the heroes of Ancrum Moor, who was joined by William Kirkaldy of Grange, son of the treasurer of James V., and six others, most of them burning with an unrighteous anger at Wishart's death, and bent to revenge it. With their accomplices, yet mustering not above fifteen in all, they glided into St Andrews on the night of the 28th of May, and early next morning commenced their daring attempt. They first secured the drawbridge, after which they turned out, in successive parties, a hundred workmen who were employed upon the castle, and fifty of the cardinal's retinue. Beaton, roused from sleep by the clash of arms, and hearing that the castle was in possession of his enemies, barricaded the door of his apartment, and armed himself with a two-handed sword. The conspirators quickly forced an entrance, and were proceeding to use their weapons, when James Melville, one of their number, checked them, representing that this work was the judgment of God, and ought to be executed with due gravity. He then presented his sword to the cardinal, who sat wailing in a chair, and thus addressed him : "Repent thee of thy former wicked life, but especially of the shedding of the blood of that notable servant of God, Mr

George Wishart, which albeit the flames of fire have consumed before men, yet crieth it for vengeance upon thee, and we from God are sent to avenge it. For here before my God I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldst have wrought to me in particular, moved, or moveth me to strike at thee, but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an obstinate enemy against Christ Jesus and his holy gospel." With these words, he thrust the cardinal repeatedly through the body, whose only dying exclamation was, "I am a priest :—fie, fie, all is gone !"

After this deed of murder, which was executed under the most perverted views of the Old Testament examples, the conspirators, knowing that their lives were forfeited, not only by civil but ecclesiastical law, took measures in the same daring spirit to defend themselves against both church and state. They put the castle into the best state of defence ; and thither, as to their only place of safety, several persons repaired, who were either connected with the destroyers of Beaton, or feared to be involved in their punishment. But when John Knox, who had been hunted from district to district by the persecution of the cardinal, took shelter within its walls, this fort, built upon a lonely nook of the iron-bound coast of Fife, and half-girdled by the waves, might well be said to hold the palladium of Scotland. In the same spirit with which he had followed the steps of Wishart, and shared in his dangers, he devoted himself to the duty of preaching and explaining the truth ; and this he did with such acceptance, that the little garrison unanimously called him to be their minister, an invitation with which, after trembling and hesitating at the sacredness of the office, he complied. His ministerial labours were divided between the chapel of the castle, and the church of the city ; and it was there that a new era was introduced in the style of preaching. The preceding reformers of Scotland, who timidly felt their way upon a path in which they were not fully enlightened, had been more anxious to assail the corrupt practices of the churchmen, than the perverted faith of the church ; and even Wishart himself, in his last hours, felt as if he could not die in peace without the passport of auricular confession. But with Knox there were no such lingerings of veneration, or timid adoption of half measures. Instead of lopping the diseased boughs, and pruning the withered off-shoots, he laid his axe to the root, with strokes that made the land to ring, as well as the

tree to totter. He saw that the whole system was rotten to the very core, and that the time of waiting had expired.

While the future apostle of Scotland was thus preparing himself for his great mission, the castle of St Andrews was besieged by the regent at the head of the military force of the kingdom. Such, however, was the prevalent ignorance of war as a science, and the determined resistance of the little garrison, which did not exceed a hundred and fifty men, that Arran could make no impression, and was obliged to call in the aid of a strong body of French auxiliaries. It was then that the superior skill of the foreign engineers prevailed. Still the garrison would not yield but upon honourable conditions, which were, that their lives should be spared, and the slaughter of the cardinal forgiven. They also stipulated, that they should be conveyed in safety to France, where, if they did not consent to enter into the French king's service, they should be transported at his expense to whatsoever country they pleased except Scotland. But these terms were shamefully violated, for on reaching France, part of the garrison were sent to prison, and others to the galleys. Among the latter was John Knox, who now seemed doomed for life to the chain and the oar, but whose reappearance we shall be able to hail in due time.

The death of Henry VIII., which occurred in the beginning of 1547, produced no advantageous change in Scottish affairs, as he bequeathed to his council the pernicious task of reducing Scotland to a union with England by force, if argument or negotiation failed. Accordingly, the Duke of Somerset, whom he had appointed Protector of the kingdom, seeing no other method, resolved to effect the marriage between his young nephew Edward VI., and the infant Mary Stuart, by fire and sword. He entered Scotland by the eastern marches at the head of fourteen thousand soldiers, many of whom were Spanish and Italian veterans, trained in the wars of the Continent, and supported by a strong fleet of thirty-four ships of war. This precipitate movement provoked a national resistance, so that nearly thirty thousand Scots were arrayed under the Earl of Arran. The Romish priests, to whose guidance the weak regent had resigned himself, were particularly active in stirring up this opposition, by suppressing Somerset's pacific letters to the Scottish council, and pretending that his purpose was to carry off the young queen, and govern in her stead: many of them also came to Musselburgh, the place of muster, wearing black jacks under their cassocks,

and carrying a doleful white banner, on which was painted a woman with hair dishevelled kneeling before a crucifix, having for a motto, "*Afflictæ sponsæ ne obliviscaris.*" They thus endeavoured to give their resistance the character of a holy warfare, by bringing out the long-neglected ancient picture and motto displayed upon the Christian banners against the infidels of the East during the wars of the Crusades. Arran occupied a position on the north side of the Esk, near Musselburgh, so favourable for resistance, that the English must have fought at great disadvantage, or retreated with loss, when they were saved, as on former occasions, by the impetuosity of the Scots. On Somerset moving his forces to a more advantageous place on the top of a hill upon the south side of the Esk, near Pinkie, Arran, mistaking this movement for a retreat, descended to prevent their escape. The commencement of the battle was favourable to the Scots: the English cavalry charged with their wonted courage, but were received so effectually by the bristled ranks of spearmen, that they were defeated with loss; and Somerset, daunted at the spectacle, was about to order a retreat, when he was checked by the Earl of Warwick, who rallied the cavalry, and opened such a heavy flanking fire of cannon and harquebusses upon the advancing Scots, as made them pause and reel in disorder. Their confusion was quickly changed into flight, and the English cavalry, furious at their late discomfiture, commenced an unsparing chase that only halted near the gates of Edinburgh. Twelve thousand Scots perished on this inglorious occasion, most of whom were drowned among the swollen waters of the Esk, or killed in the pursuit.

The consequences of this defeat would have been fatal to Scotland, if the Duke of Somerset could have followed his advantage; but he had enemies in the council at London, whose suppression he felt more important than even the conquest of Scotland itself, so that, after garrisoning Haddington and other places, he hastily retired to England. But as it was, the final results of the battle of Pinkie were highly disastrous to the Scots. The national hatred against the English, which religion had been slowly assuaging, was renewed in all its bitterness, and the progress of the reformation itself was checked among them by the cruelties which Somerset, one of its champions, inflicted upon the country at large. It was natural, therefore, for the Scots to have recourse to their old allies the French, to whom they applied for aid against the common enemy; and to

obtain it, they voluntarily offered to give their young queen in marriage to the Dauphin, and send her to France, to be educated for the purpose. The French king hastily caught at a proposal so favourable to his interests, and without giving the Scottish nobles time to repent of their bargain, he sent over Monsieur d'Esse at the head of six thousand veterans, to drive the English garrisons out of Scotland. In the same fleet which brought these auxiliaries, Mary, the rich prize of contention between England and France, but as yet too young to understand what the transfer meant, being only in her sixth year, was sent to the court of Henry II., her mother Mary of Guise exulting in such an opportunity of advancing her ambitious views, and fortifying the cause of her own country and creed in Scotland. This bold princess, who possessed the talents and love of power by which her family became famous throughout Europe, had cherished the desire, although a woman and a foreigner, of obtaining the chief sway in the government, while the task of ruling so troubled a realm and so fierce a people, which would have daunted others, was probably only a stimulus to her daring spirit. The present crisis was favourable for her purpose. The French party in Scotland had obtained the ascendancy; the French army had succeeded in freeing Haddington, and driving the English reinforcements out of the kingdom; and as for the weak and indolent Arran, he had already submitted to her superior intellect, and adopted his measures from her dictation. To resign the empty rank, as well as real power of the regency, into her hands, was therefore a slight additional sacrifice, purchased as it was by a French ducal title, and a considerable pension. He therefore retired as Duke of Chastellherault, while Mary of Guise was formally proclaimed regent, and invested with all the privileges of the office.

The new ruler soon found such difficulties in her situation as the possession of power could scarcely compensate. The Scots and the French, from their difference in national character, had never been fitted for cordial allies, so that, on former occasions, they had never met but to quarrel and part; and now, the breach was still farther widened by religious hostility. The profligacy of these auxiliaries, and their arrogant assumption of superiority, on one occasion broke out into a brawl in the streets of Edinburgh, in which Scottish blood was shed. The queen-regent, as was natural, espoused the cause of her military supporters, and was thus involved in the odium which they were so ready to pro-

voke. She also used their counsels in preference to those of the nobles, and advanced them to the highest offices, upon which the Scots began to pause, and to doubt their own prudence, in having so readily thrown themselves into the hands of Henry II. It seemed as if the menaced yoke of England, with which they had so painfully contended for ages, had only been replaced by a worse oppression. Their suspicions were still farther alarmed by her subsequent proceeding. Instigated by her foreign counsellors, she had the rashness to propose that the French auxiliaries should be established as a standing army for the national defence, and the landed proprietors be taxed for its maintenance. This plan, however necessary for the continental countries, in which it had just begun to be brought into action, was altogether new and astounding in Scotland, where every man was a national soldier, as well as the guardian of his own domestic citadel. She commenced the rash experiment also with the brave and haughty Earl of Angus, who of all persons was the least likely to endure such a trial, by asking his consent to garrison his castle of Tantallon with French soldiers. The Earl rebuffed her by a sarcastic rebuke apparently addressed to a hawk, which he carried on his wrist. On her repeating the demand, he bluntly replied, "Tantallon is at your command, as regent of Scotland; but by Saint Bride of Douglas, I must remain castellan of the fortress for your behoof, and I will keep it better for you, than any foreigners whom you could place there." From the same feeling of pride and patriotism, her proposal of a standing army was rejected by the parliament. Three hundred barons declared on this occasion, that the defence of their country was the noblest part of their birthright, and that therefore they would on no account permit this sacred office to be transferred to mercenaries and strangers.

The efforts made by the queen-regent for the defence of the established faith, and the suppression of the reformation, were encountered by refusals of a still harsher character. The iconoclastic zeal of the populace had broken forth, and in every part of the country the consecrated images had been abstracted and destroyed. Such especially was the fate of the Dagon of Edinburgh, the image of Saint Giles, which was first drowned in the North Loch, and afterwards committed to the flames. The clergy complained so bitterly on this occasion, that the queen, contrary to her better judgment, summoned several of the reformed preachers

to trial, as the instigators of these popular commotions. They came, but not alone: their people, apprehensive for their safety, flocked in great numbers to the capital. In consequence of this resort, a proclamation was made, commanding all persons who had come to Edinburgh without warrant or authority, to return to their homes, and there remain for the space of fifteen days. This imperious mandate filled the protestants with indignation: they saw in it the death-sentence of their defenceless ministers, and the ruin of their cause. They accordingly marched in a body to the queen, and made their way to her private chamber, where they found her surrounded by the prelates, and the Bishop of St Andrews, natural brother to the Earl of Arran. Mary, in answer to their remonstrance, had recourse to soft words and flattery; but James Chalmers of Gathgirth, who acted as spokesman of the party, bluntly replied: "Madam, you know that this is the malice of these jugglers, and of that bastard (meaning St Andrews) that standeth by you. We vow to God we shall make a day of it! They oppress us and our tenants, for feeding their idle bellies: they trouble our preachers, and would murder them and us: shall we suffer this any longer?—no, Madam, it shall not be so." When he had ended this uncourtly speech, every man in token of acquiescence put on his steel bonnet. Daunted by this exhibition, the bishops trembled; and the queen, after protesting that she was ignorant of the proclamation, and meant no harm to their preachers, agreed to adjourn the day of appearance, and be herself judge of the controversy between them and the prelates. The remonstrants were pacified, and the first of September was the day appointed for the ministers to attend the summons, with promise of full pardon if they consented to recant.

It happened that the period thus specified was the anniversary of St Giles, a day of noisy festival and religious pageantry among the citizens of Edinburgh, who had on this occasion been wont to do honour to their patron saint; and perhaps it was fixed upon in the hope that the hearts of the reformers would be more compliant upon such a joyous anniversary, than at any other season. But if such was the expectation, it was grievously disappointed. As the great image of Saint Giles, which was usually paraded on this occasion, had been consigned to martyrdom, the bishops insisted that the town-council should furnish another at their own proper expence; but the magistrates, who were probably for the most part protestants, replied with

texts of Scripture against the setting up of idols, and refused to comply, although threatened with the ecclesiastical penalty of cursing. A smaller image of the saint was therefore borrowed from the Gray Friars, a piece of silver being left in pawn for its return; and the puppet being nailed upon a hand-barrow, and hoisted upon men's shoulders, was paraded through the streets for worship, with the music of trumpets, tabors, and bagpipes, the queen herself heading the procession. As long as she was present, the multitude looked on in indignant silence; but when she retired, the outcry arose, "Down with the idol!—down with it!" In a few moments the image, contemptuously called "young Saint Giles," from its diminutive size compared with its predecessor, was torn down, and battered to pieces on the pavement, while its cowed and surpliced attendants took wing in every direction amidst the derision of the populace. This daring deed excited the rage of the priesthood, and a diligent inquiry was made for the perpetrators; but among such a tumult it was impossible to recognise them, while the numbers and strength of the reformers discountenanced too curious a search.

The time having arrived that the marriage between Francis, the young Dauphin, and Mary Stuart was to be accomplished, the event was this year (1558) solemnised at Paris in the church of Notre Dame, with extraordinary magnificence. On this important occasion, the Scots evinced their usual jealousy of the national independence, by sending over commissioners to watch the proceeding; and the deeds that were subscribed by both parties, seemed to guarantee the liberties of Scotland with inviolable strictness. But on the part of France, all was mere solemn show and hypocrisy. Ten days before the marriage, the unexperienced queen, only fifteen years old, had been entrapped by her uncles into subscribing three engagements. By the first, she transferred Scotland in free gift to the king of France, if she died childless: by the second, she anticipated any resistance of her country, by confirming his possession until at least a certain specified sum, too large for so poor a country easily to pay, had been returned to France for the expenses of her education—and by the third, she declared that these engagements were binding, whatever she might afterwards have to subscribe to the contrary. The Guises thus hoped, that by a flourish of the pen in the fingers of a timid girl, they had accomplished a conquest which England had tried for centuries, but in vain. The Scottish



commissioners were next to be attempted. They were required by the French council not only to swear fealty to the young Dauphin as their sovereign, but to invest him with the ensigns of Scottish royalty—proposals so unexpected and unconstitutional, that they were met with a flat denial. The commissioners paid dearly for this refusal; for on their return to Scotland, the Bishop of Orkney, the Earls of Cassilis and Rothes, Lord Fleming, and several of their attendants, suddenly sickened and died at Dieppe, although no infectious disease was at that time prevalent. From what is known of the practice of poisoning so prevalent at that period, and the unscrupulous character of the princes of the house of Lorraine, it is not uncharitable to suspect, as was then generally done, that foul means had been adopted to procure their death.

These haughty potentates had now attained a height with which few subjects have been honoured. The Duke of Guise, the victorious hero of Calais, was all-powerful in the state; while his brothers, the Cardinals of Guise and Lorraine, were revered not only for their high place in the church, but their commanding talents and success. Their sister was regent of Scotland, and possessed of all the reality of sovereign authority, while their niece, the queen of that land, was also Dauphiness of France. But all this was only the stepping-stone of these proud princes to more than kingly influence; for their aim was nothing short of the destruction of Protestantism in Europe, and the re-establishment of the ancient faith. As was natural therefore, Britain, now the stronghold and bulwark of the reformation, occupied their principal attention. Through their sister, the queen-regent of Scotland, they might crush the obnoxious doctrines in the north. As their niece was next in succession to the throne of England after Elizabeth, through her grandmother Margaret, sister of Henry VIII., and as Elizabeth in the eyes of devout Romanists both in England and the continent was illegitimate, and therefore a usurper, she might be deposed, and the young queen of Scots advanced in her room. In this manner the whole island, so rich a province of the popedom, was to be restored to its former allegiance; and thus, with Britain and France conjoined, what earthly power could arrest their progress in behalf of the papal ascendancy?

Such was their calculation, and with Scotland they commenced the trial. Hitherto, the regent had conducted her proceedings with commendable prudence, and secured the

esteem of both religious parties by her tolerant conduct, and impartial administration. But as soon as her brothers interfered, her whole line of policy was changed; and undeterred by the warning of her husband's fate, she boldly commenced a war of extermination against the protestants. The consequences of this change were soon apparent. She received the petitions of the protestant nobles, now combined for the preservation of their faith under the title of Lords of the Congregation, not only with indifference but contempt; issued severe orders that all should conform to the established religion and attend mass; and declared, that the reformed ministers should be expelled from Scotland, though they preached as soundly as Saint Paul himself. Such was the language of this most politic woman, to a nobility and people who would not have tolerated it from the best and bravest of their kings! But at that period, as at the present, stupendous events were to be accomplished, in which mere human sagacity and wisdom were utterly blind and powerless. The world was to be changed, and the Omnipotent himself had entered to destroy and regenerate. If any thing also could have aggravated this impolitic conduct on the part of the queen-regent, and armed her enemies for the deadliest resistance, it was to be found in the extreme folly with which she betrayed the iniquitous maxims of that church whose interests she had thus so exclusively embraced: for on being reminded of her promises in behalf of the reformed, she sharply answered, that princes should not be burdened with the remembrance of such promises farther than they found it convenient to keep them.

In fulfilment of her threat to drive the reformed preachers into exile, they were summoned to appear at Stirling, and answer for the crime of convoking the lieges, and preaching against the established faith. They assembled accordingly at Perth, which had previously embraced their doctrines; but they did not come as helpless suppliants: they were already tried and sentenced without a hearing, and therefore the principal gentlemen of Dundee, Angus, and Mearns, attended them, but unarmed, to watch the proceedings. The ministers were now ready to ride to Stirling, and appear on the day appointed, when the queen hearing of this formidable muster, ordered them to remain at Perth until further orders; giving them hope, through their advocate, Erskine of Dun, that some milder measures would be devised. Although they had learned the value of her promises, they

waited until the day of summons had elapsed ; upon which, to reward their obedience, the queen caused them to be put to the horn for non-appearance, and commanded all persons to avoid comforting, receiving, or maintaining them, on pain of being punished as traitors. After such double-dealing, the reformed saw their danger, and began to prepare for it. It was at this period also that they were joined by the man whom God himself had fitted and sent for the emergency. A few days previously, John Knox had landed in Scotland, and hurried onward to Perth, that he might share in the dangers of his brethren.

Of this distinguished man, whose appearance was so opportune, and whose life and labours were to constitute so important a part of Scottish history, it is now necessary to speak more fully. He was born in 1505, but in what particular district of Scotland cannot now be ascertained. He was educated for the church, and admitted into priest's orders ; but it was not until he had reached the mature age of thirty-eight, and after long and painful inquiry, that he forsook the faith in which he had been trained, and embraced the doctrines of the Reformation. Having thus attained conviction, he owned his belief with characteristic ardour and frankness, and entered upon a new career that was daily threatened with martyrdom. We have already adverted to his labours in the castle and town of St Andrews, and his consignment to the French galleys. Even there, and while bent under a bondage and toil that were proverbial, he wrestled down the feeling of despair, and exulted in the belief that he should yet be restored to Scotland, and the sacred office to which he had been called. This conviction he expressed on one occasion, when the French galleys neared the eastern coast of Scotland, and the towers of St Andrews were visible in the distance, although he was so worn with sickness, that all despaired of his recovery. On being asked, if he knew that town ? he replied, " Yes, I know it very well ; for I see the steeple of that place where God opened my mouth in public to his glory, and am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart out of this life till my tongue glorify his godly name in the same place."

After nineteen months of wasting thralldom, John Knox was set at liberty in 1549, through the mediation of Edward VI. On being liberated, he repaired to England, where his labours were so acceptable, that he was appointed one of the chaplains of the young king, and even urged

to accept the bishopric of Rochester, which he refused, judging that the office of a bishop, as then exercised in England, was not quite consistent with the apostolic model. On the succession of the intolerant and bigoted Mary, England was no longer a home for him, and in consequence of his life being endangered by her persecution, he fled to France at the beginning of 1554. But his heart was still in Scotland, where his great mission lay; and having returned the following year on a visit to England, he repaired to his native country, and there resumed his labours with such effect that his life was brought into jeopardy, so that he was obliged to retreat once more to the continent. While the clergy, having no longer his person within their reach, condemned him to death during his absence, and burned him in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh. His time had now arrived; and when the crisis was most imminent he returned, and hastened to Perth, to live or die with his brethren, for his country and his God. He was already fifty-four years old, a period of life in those days when men were rapidly breaking down under the infirmities of age; and he was further subject to a painful disorder contracted during his imprisonment in the French galleys. And yet, who could have thought that a career still lay before him, compared with which those of Bruce and Wallace were of far inferior account, and without which they would have been of little avail? Justly indeed has it been said, that the history of Scotland properly commences with John Knox.

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## CHAPTER XXV.

A.D. 1559 to A.D. 1560.

Attack on the monasteries at Perth—The Queen-regent takes possession of the town—The nobles forsake her—John Knox preaches in St Andrews—Demolition of monasteries—Queen-regent deposed—Army of the Congregation driven from Edinburgh—Aid arrives from England—Leith besieged by the Congregation—Death of Mary of Guise.

### CONTEMPORARY KINGS.

*England.*  
Elizabeth.

*France.*  
Francis II.  
Charles IX.

*Spain.*  
Phillip II.

*Popes.*  
Paul IV.  
Pius IV.

**AFTER** the duplicity of the queen-regent towards the reformed clergy had made a contest inevitable, the sudden

arrival of John Knox was a trumpet-signal to action. On the return of Erskine of Dun to Perth, who had been sent to the queen with offers of submission, and his report of her treacherous proceedings, Knox ascended the pulpit, and delivered the first of that series of public sermons so productive of great events in the future movements of the Reformation. The crime of idolatry formed his theme, the monuments of which should be destroyed; and the abomination of the mass, that demanded instant suppression. After the sermon had ended, and the congregation retired, only a few stragglers being left in the church, a priest, as if in defiance, advanced, opened a rich tabernacle near the altar, and proceeded to celebrate mass. This was too much for the bystanders; and a boy who was present, his young heart no doubt still tingling with the discourse he had heard, exclaimed, "This is intolerable, that when God by his word has plainly condemned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite!" Enraged at the interruption, the priest struck the boy, who in return threw a stone that missed the priest and demolished one of the small images. This was enough for those present, and the other utensils were quickly demolished by a shower of stones. The example thus given ran like wildfire through the least respectable of the townsfolks, or, as Knox calls them, the "rascal multitude," who rushed to the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars, burst open the gates, and commenced the work of demolition and plunder. It is worthy of note, however, that the spoil thus taken was given to the poor, and that every friar was permitted to depart unharmed, with whatever he might carry away. The Charter-house, or Carthusian Monastery, was in like manner plundered; but in the same disinterested spirit, the prior was allowed to carry off all his gold and silver.

Nothing could exceed the queen's rage when she heard of these daring proceedings; and in the first heat of her resentment, she vowed to raze Perth to the ground, destroy its inhabitants, men, women, and children, and sow it with salt in token of perpetual desolation. These imprudent menaces roused the reformed in other parts, and many repaired to the town to make common cause with the denounced. It was now full time for the reformed to justify their conduct and avow their purposes, and therefore three manifestoes were sent from Perth. The first was to the queen, protesting their loyalty, and only desiring the free exercise of their worship: in this case they would render

her the full service of their lives and possessions ; but if their petition was rejected, they would not only be compelled in self-defence to take the sword against their persecutors, but also to appeal to the King of France, to their young sovereign the Dauphiness, and to the princes and councils of Christendom, against the national bondage denounced by the destruction of their towns and persons. The second was to Mons. d'Osell the French commander, and his officers, beseeching them to interpose their mediation with the queen to stay the coming warfare, and warning them on their allegiance to their own sovereign not to compel them to resistance. The third was to the nobility of Scotland, appealing to them generally in the feudal style of the Scottish government, as the natural princes and protectors of the people ; and particularly to those who had embraced their cause when danger was distant, that they would now come forward to their rescue. All these applications were fruitless except the last. The nobles as a body had hitherto adhered to the queen, and those who favoured the adverse party had hoped to benefit their cause by mediation ; but now that war was unavoidable, no such middle course could be continued. The question was soon settled among the barons of Cunningham and Kyle at the church of Craigie, where a meeting was held on the subject, by the brave example of the Earl of Glencairn. "Let every man," he said, "serve his conscience : I will, by God's grace, see my brethren in St Johnston. Yea, though never a man should accompany me, I will go, if it were but with a pike upon my shoulder ; for I had rather die with that company than live after them." He went accordingly, and was followed by his auditory. But in addition to these missives, there was a fourth, of terrible import, addressed "to the generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates, and their shavelings within Scotland." It warned them of the danger of stirring up oppressors and persecutors to harass or destroy, and threatened a strict retribution. "As ye, by tyranny," it said, "intend, not only to destroy our bodies, but also by the same to hold our souls in bondage of the devil, subject to idolatry, so shall we, with all our force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you. Yea, we shall begin that same war which God commandeth Israel to execute against the Ganaanites ; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till ye desist from your open idolatry, and cruel persecution of God's children."

The French forces were now set in motion for the purpose of reducing the obnoxious town, and had reached Auchterarder, within ten Scotch miles of Perth itself. But while the storm was thus about to burst upon it, the Earl of Glencairn was also advancing at the head of three thousand reformers to its relief. The queen-regent, who had not calculated upon such a movement, saw the hopelessness of taking the "fair city" by storm, and therefore had recourse to treaty, and as the citizens of Perth were ignorant of approaching aid, they acceded to the offered conditions. These were, that no one should be called in question for the late commotion; that all citizens should be left free in the exercise of their religion, and that no French garrison should be imposed upon them; in return for which, they agreed to be dutiful and obedient subjects, and give the queen and her French soldiers the free entrance of the town. The ministers, and the more reflective part of the reformed, knew too well the spirit of their adversaries to believe that such a treaty would be faithfully kept; but their reluctance to mix their sacred cause with strife and bloodshed was so strong, that they stifled their apprehensions, and endeavoured to hope for the best. Their worst surmises were soon justified. No sooner was the town made free to the French soldiers than they entered as conquerors. As they marched through the principal street they discharged a triumphant volley; and some of their hagbuts being loaded with ball, a boy, ten or twelve years old, the son of a zealous protestant of the town, was shot dead. An outcry was raised, and the body of the victim carried before the queen; but her only answer to the touching appeal was one of mockery: "It is pity," she said, "that it chanced to the son and not to the father." This was merely a commencement to the violation of the whole treaty. That odious thing, the mass, was forthwith set up with all the relics of its former splendour; French soldiers were quartered in the houses of the citizens; the magistrates were displaced from office, and the Laird of Kinfauns, a man odious to the citizens for his vices, was imposed upon them as provost. But the most barefaced violation of all was the placing of a garrison of four hundred soldiers to command the town; and when the people remonstrated, the queen repeated her old argument, at that time so frequent in the mouths of the popish party—that no faith needed to be kept with heretics: she added, moreover, that her promise only concerned a garrison of French soldiers, whereas those who were complained of were enlisted

natives of Scotland. It was answered, that all who served for the pay of France were for the time French soldiers ; but to this argument she replied, as on a former occasion, that princes must not be too strictly bound to their promises,—and added, that she would make little scruple of taking from the whole party both land and life itself, if she could do it with as honest an excuse.

By these rash and impolitic declarations, the queen did more mischief to her cause than the occupation of twenty such towns as Perth could have repaid, for the nobles of the reformed party who had hitherto adhered to her, would countenance her proceedings no longer. They had pledged themselves in Perth for the regent's sincerity, with the promise that they would join the congregation if she failed ; and now that popery was restored, and a garrison imposed upon the town, their engagement, solemnly drawn up and subscribed, required to be fulfilled. Accordingly, the Earls of Argyll and Menteith, the Prior of St Andrews, commonly called the Lord James, Lord Ruthven, and the Laird of Tullibardin, forsook the queen, and declared their adherence to the opposite party. Of these nobles, the most illustrious was Lord James, natural son of James V., for whom his father had made provision in infancy, by appointing him prior of St Andrews. Thus destined to the service of the church, the prior had received a suitable education ; but as he grew towards manhood, he began to develop such talents both for war and politics, that even at the early age of seventeen he was recognised as a master-spirit and a leader. He was therefore sent as one of the Scottish commissioners to France, where his abilities were so highly appreciated by the Guises, who saw in him the ablest person to advance their plans in Scotland, that they endeavoured to win him to their cause by the offer of a cardinal's hat. But to all their allurements he turned a deaf ear, upon which they endeavoured to discredit him with his countrymen, by spreading the report that he was aiming at the crown. Such was the man who was now to become the leader of the Protestant party in Scotland. The queen, alarmed at his secession and that of the other lords, commanded them instantly to return ; but to this they sent for answer, that they could no longer take part in the tyranny she exercised, or countenance the measures of her prelates.

After these lords had rode away from Perth with their attendants, they sent invitations to Erskine of Dun and other barons in Angus, to join them in Fife, to which they



were hastening ; and thither the latter repaired, with John Knox in their company. After preaching at Crail and Anstruther, he conceived the daring design of abandoning the slow war of outposts, and pressing forward at once to St Andrews, the capital of Antichrist. One decisive blow at the head of the evil would stun and paralyse the body to the furthest extremities. Even in a political point of view, this utmost of daring at such a crisis was the perfection of wisdom and prudence. But the lords were startled at the proposal : it was a new movement in warfare which they could not even comprehend. They had with them only their friends and armed attendants. On the other hand, the primate had garrisoned the town ; the citizens had as yet given no decided countenance to their cause ; and the queen, with her French forces, was stationed at Falkland, only fourteen miles distant. Depending upon all these aids, the bishop sent an arrogant message to the reformer, warning him that if he dared to present himself in the pulpit of the cathedral, a dozen hagbuts should be discharged at him, the greater part of which should light upon his nose. But Knox was not to be so deterred. There he had first preached ; and even in the galleys he had been cheered with the firm trust that there he should preach again. As for danger, he besought the reluctant lords to have no fear on his account, as He who had carried him thus far on his way would be with him to the end. He concluded his expostulation with these generous, heroic words : " I desire the hand or weapon of no man to defend me : I only crave audience, which if it be denied here to me at this time, I must seek farther where I may." His decision animated the lords with fresh courage, and upon the tenth of June, Knox ascended the pulpit, and fearlessly preached to the auditory. His hopes were justified : not a hand or voice was raised against him ; and as for the bishop, who had placed such trust in his jackmen and hagbuters, and promised to bring the reformer to the queen alive or dead, he hastily left the town, and reached her camp as a fugitive.

The unexpected tidings of the primate so incensed the queen-regent, that, eager for reprisal, she ordered an immediate march to St Andrews, hoping to envelop the insurgents within the ancient city of which they had thus taken possession. It seemed impossible also but that she must succeed, as it was only held by the young nobles, Argyle and Lord James, whose handful of attendants were in no

condition to resist. But the district was well affected to the cause of the Reformation, and as soon as the report of their danger was spread abroad, a well-appointed army of horse, foot, and artillery arrived so suddenly to their aid from every quarter, and in such numbers, that it seemed as if the clouds had rained down armed men. Being more than three thousand, they were greatly superior in numbers to the enemy, whom they resolved to confront midway; and for this purpose they drew up on Cupar Muir, between Falkland and St Andrews, in such excellent position and order, as to insure every prospect of success. The French, on coming forward, were daunted at the sight, and the regent had recourse to negotiation. A truce of eight days was agreed upon, during which the French forces were to confine themselves to their former quarters at Falkland, until commissioners should be sent by the queen to settle the terms of an agreement. But she merely wished to gain time, and no such commissioners were sent. The lords of the congregation perceiving that this delay was only intended to dissolve their hastily raised forces, resolved to proceed to action by the delivery of Perth, to which town they accordingly marched after the truce had expired. The garrison, on being summoned, at first offered resistance; but finding their case hopeless, they surrendered, and the congregation took possession of the town.

During these military operations, the strongholds of superstition had not been neglected. At such a period, it was in vain to think of advancing the Reformation among a people whose only gospels had been shrines and images, without showing that these were nothing more than stone and metal, that might as well be piled upon the wall or dissolved in the crucible. It was equally in vain to preach against idolatry, without giving practical demonstration that the idols of popular worship were utterly powerless. Accordingly, before the protestants left Fife, they had levelled the monasteries of Franciscan and Dominican Friars, and swept the abbey of Lindores of its altars and images, mass-books and vestments; and now that they had reached Perth, they resolved to proceed in a similar manner with the neighbouring abbey of Scone. Its superior, the Bishop of Moray, was peculiarly obnoxious, not only because he was a persecutor, but also from his infamous and profligate life; and the citizens of Perth and Dundee, who were united in the work, resolved not only to assail the abbey, but also the episcopal palace which stood beside it. The buildings were

attacked, and their destruction would have been instant, but for the interposition of John Knox, Lord James, and the leaders of the Congregation, who persuaded the multitude to desist after the images had been destroyed. But the attack was renewed the day after, and in consequence of the resistance made by those within, one of whom ran an assailant through the body with a rapier, palace and abbey were given alike to the flames. The reforming leaders regretted this destructive outburst of popular fury, for the abbey was hallowed in national history as the place where the Scottish kings had been crowned; but an aged matron, who looked upon the blaze with solemn triumph, after declaring into what a den of profligacy and abomination it had been converted, said, "Now I see that God's judgments are just, and no man is able to save when He will punish. If all men knew as much as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended." Stirling and its neighbourhood had the next visitation, where the monasteries were swept bare, or positively destroyed; Linlithgow followed, and afterwards Edinburgh itself, in which the work was so rigidly performed upon the establishments of the Black and Grey Friars, that nothing more than the naked walls of the buildings were left standing.

Such were the devastations committed by men who felt themselves engaged in a most important duty. A war of religion had commenced, a war between truth and error, in which no compromise could be admitted, for error would be all or nothing. The same stern necessity therefore prevailed, which, when a land asserts its liberty, must give tower and palace to destruction, because they are the home of the tyrant, and the stronghold of his oppression. However rich and beautiful they may be, their existence is incompatible with the great object at stake, and their worth is not for a moment to be measured with the benefits which their destruction will secure. It was thus that the Scots had been accustomed to reason and act for centuries, during their wars with England, when they gave their fair castles to the flames, rather than yield them as shelters to the invader. In England, and upon the continent, the Reformation indeed was conducted more economically, and the stately buildings were spared; but the consequence of this ill-timed mercy was, that the wavering heart was apt to be lured back to the faith of which these were such attractive emblems; and Popery, still lingering around their walls, never ceased to hope that the time was coming when they would again be

come her own. But she could cherish no such hope of Scotland : there, she had no longer a resting-place for the sole of her foot, and she turned indignantly from a land that had so utterly rejected her. Away, then, with the sordid sympathy that weeps over fallen monasteries and crumbling cathedrals ! When a land has been rescued from the deadliest of all despotisms, who would bewail the sacrifice of those Bastiles by which the deliverance was accomplished ?

The congregation being now in possession of the capital, announced their full purpose to the queen. This was, the establishment of the reformed religion, and the dismissal of the French soldiers from the country, which demands being granted, they were ready to obey her as faithful and dutiful subjects. But these were concessions which she was little disposed to grant, or even to promise. Time, however, was necessary until she could be reinforced from France, and therefore she had recourse to her wonted policy. By dispersing abroad the old insinuation that Lord James was aiming at the possession of the crown, she detached from him the Duke of Chastelherault and the Hamiltons ; and by procrastinating a negotiation into which she had entered with the lords of the congregation, she thinned their ranks, as many of their feudal retainers were obliged, after their term of military service, to return to their homes. Having thus far succeeded, she joyfully said, "The Congregation has reigned these two months past, I myself will reign other two." She immediately commenced her march from Dunbar, whither she had been compelled to retire for shelter, and entered Leith, which surrendered without resistance. She was thus at the threshold of the capital ; and the protestant leaders finding themselves too weak to hold out Edinburgh against her, agreed by treaty to abandon it, provided the citizens were left to the free enjoyment of their religion and the services of their ministers, and that no garrison of soldiers, whether French or Scotch, should be imposed upon the city. These conditions being accepted, the army of the congregation retired to Stirling. The regent took possession of Edinburgh ; and without regarding the treaty, she placed a garrison in the Canongate, restored the service of the mass, and endeavoured to irritate the citizens so as to provoke an outrage by which her farther aggressions might be justified.

In the mean time, while the leaders of the congregation were at Stirling, a most important suggestion was made by John Knox. He saw that France meditated the enthrall-

ment of England through the subjugation of Scotland ; and he thought it full time that these two countries should unite, not only for the preservation of their common liberty, but that which was of still dearer account. The idea burst from him like a sudden inspiration "If England," he said, "would foresee their own commodity, yea, if they would consider the dangers wherein they stand themselves, they would not suffer us to perish in this quarrel ; for France hath decreed no less the conquest of England than of Scotland." The suggestion was eagerly adopted, and the reformer, independently of his numerous duties as a minister, was the principal correspondent and negociator in this delicate treaty with the English government. Such a correspondence with a foreign and hitherto a hostile power, by further widening the breach between the queen-regent and the congregation, produced a change in the allegiance of the latter ; and the question that speedily arose was the propriety of Mary's deposition. She had oppressed the people, and repeatedly violated her compacts ; and it was concluded that she might justly be set aside and her office given to another. This stern necessity was the more urgent, as the forces of the congregation were gradually melting away, while auxiliaries were daily expected from France, by which her despotic plans would be accomplished. Accordingly, after a grave and thoughtful discussion, her deposition from the regency was proclaimed in due form. The negociation with England was also successful, for Elizabeth was persuaded, although in stinted measure, to advance supplies of money, by which the lords were enabled to increase their feudal levies. As their forces were thus raised to twelve thousand men, they marched to Edinburgh to enforce the sentence of deposition ; while the regent, avoiding the coming storm, took shelter with her French troops in Leith, the defences of which were improved by all the resources of military science.

The siege of that town was immediately commenced by the reformers, who, confident in their numbers, imagined that all would be carried by a bold assault ; but they had an enemy behind the ramparts as brave, and immeasurably more skilful than themselves. Their first attacks were therefore fruitless ; and at last the French troops made so vigorous a sally, that they broke the assailants, and chaced them from their entrenchments into the streets of Edinburgh, which they filled with havoc and dismay. This discomfiture was so complete, that in bitter disappointment the army of the congregation retired once more to Stirling, and might per-

haps have dispersed, but for the fearless spirit and animating eloquence of John Knox. He thundered from the pulpit one of those heart-stirring discourses which neither lord nor vassal could resist, pointing out those sins for which God had so severely rebuked them, but assuring them, that in spite of every disaster, their sacred cause would yet be triumphant in Scotland. After hearing this sermon, there were despondency and despair no longer. About the same time, they were joined by Maitland of Lethington, secretary to the queen-regent, but an adherent of the Reformation, who, on being threatened with death by the popish party, fled to Stirling, and made common cause with his brethren. His secession was a fatal blow to the queen, for such were his high talents, eloquence, and political sagacity, that he was afterwards famed as the Machiavel of Scotland. The lords availed themselves of the services of this able ally, by sending him to the English court, to represent their disastrous condition, and apply for further aid—an office which he performed so effectually, that Elizabeth, throwing off her over-scrupulous caution and parsimonious habits, resolved to aid them both by land and sea. A fleet of fourteen ships of war was accordingly dispatched in the first instance to co-operate in the siege of Leith, while a land-army of six thousand foot and two thousand horse was marched down to Scotland for the same purpose. During this negociation, the French had invaded Fife, where they committed great havoc; but having no longer the protection of their stone bastions and well-served artillery, they were gallantly harassed and held in check by Lord James and the Earl of Arran, at the head of a body of light horsemen, who gave them no intermission. They were in hourly expectation of aid from France, so that when the English fleet appeared upon the coast, they welcomed it with a volley, mistaking it for the arrival of their countrymen. But on discovering their error, they stopped short in their movements, made a light-heeled retreat, by the way of Stirling, to their safer quarters in Leith, and prepared themselves to encounter the new emergency.

A strange spectacle was now to be exhibited—an English and a Scottish army fighting side by side, and for a common cause, instead of front to front. Once, and only once, had such an event occurred: this was during the second crusade, when the Earl of Huntingdon joined his troops to the army of Cœur-de-Lion upon the plains of Syria; but four hundred years of almost continual bloodshed had elapsed since that

event, so that the memory of it had passed away. Nothing short of a religious feeling superior to all other considerations, could have absorbed such fierce rivalry and hate, and made them charge abreast like friends and fellow-countrymen. It was the sudden outburst of a new morning that had dawned upon both kingdoms—the coming of the Sun of Righteousness, by which the clouds were scattered. The two nations, with their long-cherished rivalry so wondrously turned into a new channel, now advanced to the attack; but their emulous spirit thus directed against a common enemy hurried them too eagerly forward. Although the English fleet cannonaded Leith by sea, and the united armies pressed onward by land to the ramparts, the latter, on two several occasions, were driven back, and defeated with severe loss. Still, however, it was apparent that the superior numbers and rival valour of the assailants would finally prevail, when an event occurred in the castle of Edinburgh which made both combatants and on-lookers pause. Mary of Guise, who had been sheltered within the walls by Lord Erskine the governor, sickened, and died in the heat of the contest, on the 10th of June 1560.

This talented and ambitious princess, the daughter of a family that seemed born to rule, had been suddenly translated to a strange land, and among a high-spirited but still barbarous people, who were equally jealous of the ascendancy of women and foreigners. Yet, in spite of these obstacles, which apparently were insuperable, she had won her way to the highest seat in political administration, and a more than delegated power, during a long minority. In this, even the most distinguished of the Scottish nobles had hitherto been unsuccessful. Having thus far succeeded, the prudence and gentleness of her government were so effectual, that the two great religious parties into which the country was divided, irreconcilable in other respects, were yet united in homage to her authority, and admiration of her worth. Thus all foreboded a prosperous sway and peaceful termination, had not a period arrived in the religious history of the land, in which there can be “no peace but a sword.” Truth and error had already commenced that uncompromising conflict in which all was to be won or lost, and the piles of the martyrs by which the land had been lighted up, were merely the beacon-signals of its coming. In this conflict, Mary was most unfortunate in belonging to a church that requires implicit submission to its dictates, and in being surrounded by spiritual counsellors with whom

truth and integrity were nothing when their church was to be defended or aggrandised. By her creed she was taught that no faith should be kept with heretics; and by her brothers, that all means were justified by which that creed was to be advanced; and upon these principles, her gentleness was changed into oppression, and her wisdom into weak cunning, while all her plans terminated in disappointment and defeat. Even her strongest confidence—the introduction of a French army—only endeared the Reformation more completely to the Scots, by identifying it with national liberty, and the deliverance of their country from a foreign yoke.

But it was during the last illness of the queen-regent that the scales fell from her eyes. The approach of death seemed to bring back the healthier spirit of her former years, so that she was eager to part in peace with those she had injured; and accordingly she sought a last interview with the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Marischal, and the Lord James. Even here too she tasted the bitterness of her former perfidy, for the congregation fearing some new “Guisian practice,” were unwilling to trust their choicest leaders within the castle walls. To these lords she confessed the errors of her administration, and lamented the destructive warfare into which she had forced them. Melted by her penitent words, they forgave, and tried to comfort her, and advised that she should send for one of their clergymen. Accordingly John Willock, the fellow-labourer of Knox, was summoned to her bed-side, to whom she professed her belief that there was no salvation but in and by the death of Jesus Christ. The preacher then spoke of the mass, but upon this subject she was silent. On the day following she died. Even her burial in the land she had ruled, would have been difficult, or perhaps impossible, on account of the religious rites with which it would have been accompanied; and therefore the body, after being preserved in a covering of lead, was four months afterwards transported to France for sepulture.



## CHAPTER XXVI.

Peace established in Scotland—Obstacles to the Reformation—Its establishment—Mary returns from France—Her mass in the palace opposed—Her interview with John Knox—Scanty provision for the reformed clergy—Death of the Earl of Huntley—Knox again summoned before the queen.

A.D. 1560 to A.D. 1563.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Francis II. Charles IX.	Philip II.	Ferdinand I.	Pius IV.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

1560. Civil wars of the Reformation commenced in France.  
 1562. Prince of Condé defeated by the Guises at Dreux.  
 1563. Dissolution of the Council of Trent.

BEFORE the death of Mary of Guise, the futility of that gigantic scheme of her brothers to unite the crowns of France, England, and Scotland under one ruler, had been sufficiently apparent. England was strong in her protestantism and national resources, while the French troops in Scotland, so far from conquering the country, were unable to maintain their insecure footing within the walls of Leith. Even France itself was torn with religious divisions, so that instead of attempting foreign conquests, she had need of every soldier she could muster to restore internal tranquillity. A treaty therefore was soon concluded between the parties, through the powerful negotiation of England. The chief terms in favour of Scotland were, that the French forces should leave the kingdom, and an act of oblivion be passed in favour of the reformed for all they had done, from the 6th of March 1558 to August 1560—the interval during which the strongholds of popery had been levelled, and the greater part of its wealth confiscated. Until the young queen's arrival from France, the government was to be vested in a council of twelve, seven to be chosen by the Queen, and five by the Estates. It was also stipulated, that no foreign troops should be admitted into the country, or foreigners into its offices of trust and influence. By this treaty, in which Elizabeth and her able ministers sought to keep the enemy from the gates of England, they effectually accomplished their purpose by clearing Scotland of the French,

obtaining the recognition of the protestant faith, and securing for the country all the advantages of a successful war. But the final establishment of such advantages was still doubtful. She who was now the accredited sovereign of Scotland, being instigated by her uncles, refused to become a party in this treaty of the three nations, and thus the war might be again renewed, should the Romish party once more obtain the ascendancy.

As a breathing interval had thus been procured, the reformers proceeded to avail themselves of the opportunity. After a solemn thanksgiving for the deliverance of the country, superintendents and ministers were appointed for the principal districts and towns of Scotland, and a parliament convoked for the adjustment of national affairs, and especially for the establishment of religion. Even at this meeting there was less dissension than might have been expected; for while some of the popish lords, spiritual as well as temporal, purposely absented themselves, many inferior barons of the protestant party who had hitherto not been in the habit of attending parliament, on account of the distance and expense, now came forward, animated by that zeal with which they had advocated the reformation from the commencement. Their number, which amounted to about a hundred, gave considerable preponderance to the votes that followed.

One of the first subjects that occupied the parliament was a petition from the "barons, gentlemen, burgesses, and others," in which they craved the condemnation of such false doctrines as transubstantiation, the merits of works, purgatory, indulgences, pilgrimages, and prayers to saints departed. The petition also craved order to be taken, not only with the abuse and profanation of the sacraments, but also with the profligate lives and shameful practices of those who administered them. Thirdly, after adverting to the hierarchical usurpation of the whole patrimony of the church, by which learning was neglected, the schools impoverished, and the poor defrauded of their portion, they craved that for these evils also an effective remedy should be provided. And finally, after referring to the dishonesty, injustice, cruelty, and oppression of these popish clergymen, they besought, that they should be deemed unworthy of "honour, authority, charge, or cure within the church of God," and be excluded from all vote in parliament.

These were sweeping clauses; and yet they might have passed, as they were implied in that reformation for which the land had fought and suffered. But there was one article

in the petition which was sure to be opposed by the most powerful of the country : it was that which concerned the application of the church property to its legitimate uses. The higher nobles, who had joined the cause of the reformation at a later stage, and after the most difficult part of the enterprise had been accomplished by the lesser barons, had entered when the victory was all but won, that they might make sure of the spoil ; and the lands and revenues of the church fared at their hands, as those of the state had done with their turbulent and selfish predecessors. And never had the avarice of the aristocracy been so tempted, for the booty at stake comprised at least one-half of the substance of Scotland. Thus, while the church, like a rich ship, was going to pieces among the breakers, these men who had remained housed while the storm was at the height, were now struggling among the subsiding billows, to secure for themselves the drifting wealth of the wreck ; so that many a goodly mansion, rich benefice, and productive farm, which had been held for centuries by ecclesiastical occupants, fell into hands that had seldom been accustomed to forego their hold. But these lordly spoliators felt the danger of an inquiry into the source of their new-got wealth, as well as the odium that would attend a direct refusal to refund ; and it was probably to turn the thoughts of the people into a new channel, that they required the ministers and barons to draw up a summary of the doctrines which they wished to have established as the national belief. This was done, and a confession of faith was presented to the parliament four days after. The time was indeed brief for so momentous a task ; but it is evident that subjects which had occupied the study and indoctrination of years, could even upon so short a warning be transferred to paper. On the confession being brought before the parliament, the bishops present as well as the laity, who were adverse to the doctrines, were solemnly adjured in the name of God to state their objections, while several of the reformed ministers stood up, ready to reply ; but none objected save the Earls of Cassilis and Caithness, who uttered a simple Nay, and the Earl of Atholl, Lord Somerville, and Lord Borthwick, who contented themselves with the unanswerable argument : " We will believe as our fathers believed." The doctrines of the confession were therefore ratified by parliament on the 17th of July (1560), after having been read and considered clause by clause, and sufficient time allowed for the objections of dissentients.

After the creed of the church had been thus drawn up and ratified, the next question for settlement was that of ecclesiastical government and discipline. And here the simple Presbyterianism of the Culdees, under which the Scottish church had once been so illustrious and effective before it was disfigured by prelatic pomp and dominion, resumed its former ascendancy. The First Book of Discipline, the simple formula of the reformed Scottish church, of which John Knox was the principal author, was presented for ratification, after it had been carefully examined by a committee of ministers appointed by the first General Assembly that had sat in Scotland, and which met in the 20th of December (1560); and the book was subscribed by the chief of the nobility in the beginning of the following year. Even it too was encountered with bitter opposition. Many hated and opposed it, but for reasons which they could not well avow. It not only established a strict inquest upon the vices most prevalent among the Scots of this period, but also threatened those who had embezzled the church property with fear of restitution.

While these new movements were going onward in Scotland, and accomplishing in days the work of years, the proud princes of Lorraine were looking on in almost speechless indignation. The kingdom of their niece, which they regarded as their own inheritance to manage and control at pleasure, was pursuing a course that thwarted all their ambitious schemes, and would finally insure their downfall. They even talked of the return of a new army of French into Scotland, not as auxiliaries but conquerors, and Knox and the reformers were anxiously looking forward to the prospect of a fresh invasion. But these vain plans, like many others against the church of God, depended for their accomplishment upon one uncertain life; and that life was soon extinguished. Francis II., the husband of the young queen of Scotland, suddenly died; and Mary, by whom all his movements had been influenced through the promptings of her uncles, found herself a powerless widow. Charles IX., the younger brother of her husband, was now king, under the management of his mother, Catherine de Medicis, a proud woman, who could not brook even the shadow of rivalry; and Mary Stuart, universally neglected in a court of which she had so lately been the brightest ornament, retired to Rheims, to bewail her misfortunes in solitude. It was better to return to her native country, and assume her hereditary sceptre; and therefore she lis-

tened gladly to the invitation of the Scottish Estates to that effect, through their ambassador the Lord James, her natural brother. This acceptance on her part had the concurrence of the Guises, who hoped by her accession to renew those frustrated plans which they had thought to accomplish through the aid of Scotland. But it was with keen regret that she left a court she had adorned, and a country over which she had ruled. Her voyage to Scotland also was not without danger. On her marriage to the Dauphin, she had been induced by her uncles to assume the royal arms of England among her quarterings, as if she had been its legitimate queen; and Elizabeth, the last person to forgive such an insult, had not only refused her a safe conduct by sea, but had even sent cruizers to intercept her. She escaped the English ships in a fog, and landed safely at Leith on the morning of the 20th of August. A heavy mist obscured the whole atmosphere at her arrival, as if to foreshadow approaching calamity. Still, however, nothing could exceed the enthusiasm of her welcome, and at night, some hundreds of citizens serenaded under her window with violins. But notwithstanding all this tumultuous homage, Mary could not help remembering with sorrow the refined splendour and stately pageantries that had formerly greeted her as queen of France.

The time of discord was even then at hand: in four days the Sabbath arrived—and how was the new queen to observe it? Preparations were made for a mass in the chapel of Holyrood, and Mary and her retinue were ready to attend it. But at the last parliament, the celebration of this rite had been denounced, the first performance to be punished with confiscation, the second with banishment, and the third with death; and on the departure of Lord James to France, he had been charged to give no consent that the queen should have mass either publicly or privately in Scotland. And yet, “the idol,” as it was called, was now to be set up once more within the precincts of the palace! Here was the rallying point between the reformers and their adversaries upon which the great national question was to be determined, and as such, the slightest movement was of national importance. On this occasion, therefore, the citizens of Edinburgh rose in alarm, and gathered round the walls of the palace. “Shall that idol be suffered to take place again within this realm?” cried some: “No,” exclaimed others fiercely in reply: “the idolatrous priest shall die the death according to God’s law!” A rush was made from

the Abbey closes in the Canongate upon the chapel ; some consecrated candles which were on their way to the building were broken ; and it might have fared hard with the priests themselves, had not the Lord James, whom all respected, stood as guard, with his sword drawn, at the chapel door. Fierce and loud was the altercation that followed, until public proclamation was made, that all should keep themselves in quietness, and attempt no religious tumult or innovation, as her Majesty meant to take order by the advice of her estates for the pacification of religious divisions, and the restoration of tranquillity in the realm.

This proclamation, which emanated, not from the popish, but the reformed party in the council, secured the unquestioned performance of the mass in the royal chapel for an indefinite period, and thus, the statute so lately enacted against it was compromised. It was wonderful also to notice how the zeal of the leaders of the congregation began to relax under the blandishments of the youthful queen ; so that while their first outcry was, " Let us hang the priest ! " it was silenced, or utterly changed, after two or three visits to the palace. Well might Campbell of Kinzeancleugh, a stern adherent of the reformation, exclaim in sad wonderment, " I think there be some enchantment in the court whereby men are bewitched ! " Knox regarded this growing defection with sorrow and alarm. Throughout the whole of Europe, the mass, at the reformation, was the rallying point of popery ; and now, that it was set up once more in Scotland, however partially or privately, it was as if a banner had been displayed or a trumpet blown, to announce that the war had commenced anew. Justly, therefore, did he declare in his sermon upon the ensuing Sabbath, that one mass was more fearful to him than if ten thousand armed enemies were landed in any part of the realm, for the suppression of religion. " For in our God," he added, " there is strength to confound multitudes, if we unfeignedly depend upon him, whereof we have had experience ; but when we join hand with idolatry, there is no doubt that God's amiable presence and comfortable defence shall depart from us."

In consequence of these bold declarations, the preacher was summoned to an interview with the queen. Mary perhaps thought, that the same ingratiating arts which had mollified so many of the protestant leaders, would be irresistible with the reformer, in which case, her victory would be complete. On his being ushered into her presence, she commenced the interview, with certain heavy charges, of

which he was desired to clear himself. He had raised, she said, a part of her subjects against her mother and herself; he had written a book against "the monstrous regiment of women," by which her right to govern was denied; he was the cause of great sedition and laughter; and she had been told, moreover, that all his achievements had been wrought through the practice of necromancy. He answered these accusations in a dispassionate, and what might have appeared, a satisfactory manner. With his reply to the first and principal charge, however, she was not satisfied, and therefore she returned to it. "You have taught the people," she said, "to receive another doctrine than their princes allow; and how can that doctrine be of God, seeing that God commandeth subjects to obey their princes?" He replied, that as religion originated not in princes, but in God alone, therefore subjects were not bound to frame their religion to the will of their princes;—which he instanced from the histories of Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezzar, Darius, and the Roman emperors, and the refusal of the Jews, Daniel, and the apostles, to join in their worship, although in other matters they gave obedience. "Yea," said the queen, "but none of these men raised the sword against their princes." "Yet, madam," replied Knox, "you cannot deny but they resisted; for those that obey not the commandments given, in some sort resist." The queen, still urgent upon the subject of obedience, thus pressed the argument: "But they resisted not by the sword." His brief reply was, "God, madam, had not given them the power and the means." She was startled at this, and asked, "Think you that subjects having power, may resist their princes?" This was the trying question, which the reformer met bravely and honestly, and in language which at that time was new to royal ears. "If princes do exceed their bounds, madam," he said, "and do against that for which they should be obeyed, there is no doubt but they may be resisted even by power; for there is neither greater honour nor greater obedience to be given to kings and princes, than God hath commanded to be given to father and mother. But so it is, that the father may be stricken with a frenzy, in the which he would slay his own children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join themselves together, apprehend the father, take the sword or other weapon from him, and finally, bind his hands, and keep him in prison till his frenzy be overpast, think ye, madam, that the children do any wrong? Or think ye, madam, that God

will be offended with them that have stayed their father from committing wickedness? It is even so, madam, with princes that would murder the children of God who are subject to them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a very mad frenzy; and therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because it agreeth with the word of God."

This reply so confounded the queen, that for a quarter of an hour she was silent: it seemed as if she saw in dark array upon the sombre walls of the apartment, the passing shadows of her descendants, whom these stern doctrines were to doom to death or exile. "Well, then!" she exclaimed at last, when she had recovered from her amazement: "I perceive that my subjects shall only obey you and not me; and shall do what they list, and not what I command; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." To this erroneous conclusion, he earnestly answered, "God forbid!" and proceeded to show, that princes and subjects being equally under divine authority, it was through God alone that the former ruled and the latter obeyed; and that the dignity of sovereigns was so great, that kings were required to be nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers of the church. "Yea, but ye are not the church that I will nourish," she said, pettishly: "I will defend the church of Rome, for I think it is the true church of God." Such was the error cherished by the potentates of the day: to Rome they would go, and their subjects must implicitly follow. The hour of dinner, at that period an early one, having arrived, Knox was allowed to depart, which he did with an apostolic and courtly benediction: "I pray God, madam," he said, "that you may be also blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, if it be the pleasure of God, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel." The reformer had not only detected those principles of government which she had acquired with her foreign education, but the duplicity and finesse with which she was likely to advance them: it was a piteous sight in one so young and beautiful, so exalted in office, and endowed with choicest gifts; but still, although in sorrow, he must hold onward in the course which God had prescribed as the path of duty. On being asked his opinion of the queen, after this interview, he replied, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty wit, with an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me; and this I say



with a grieved heart, for the good I wish to her, and by her to the church and state."

From these sentiments of the queen so distinctly avowed, and the influence which her ingratiating arts were acquiring over the nobles, it was evident that the struggle of the reformation, so far from being ended, had only yet begun. The subject upon which the conflict was renewed, was not likely soon to terminate; for it was one in which the sacrifice of money was at stake. As the protestant faith was now the recognised religion of the state, it was necessary that a proper provision should be made for the education of the people, and the support of the clergy. Hitherto, indeed, several of the teachers of the reformation had been educated in the schools of popery; others were of a station in society that secured them from absolute poverty; while all seemed equally animated with an apostolic earnestness that carried them triumphantly through every kind of labour and privation. But the further maintenance of these self-devoted men, and the means of training and continuing a national clergy to perpetuate the good work that had been so happily commenced, was now the subject of consideration. The demand, therefore, was urgently and repeatedly made; but it was made chiefly to those who had church plunder either in actual possession or alluring prospect, and upon them the decision depended. The whole matter was arranged in that spirit of sordidness which so grossly characterised the Scottish nobility. A calculation having been made of the annual revenue that still remained to the dis-established church, the popish clergy were allowed to retain two-thirds, and the remaining third was allotted to the queen for the maintenance of ministers, the endowment of schools, the support of the poor, and the augmentation of the royal revenue. In this way, a mere pittance from the wreck of the church was so consigned, as to become a fruitful source of contention between the court and the clergy; and the share of the latter was so penuriously dealt out, that while a common minister received nothing more than a hundred merks annually, the highest salaries extended only to three hundred. Even this, too, was thought an over-liberal allowance, so that Maitland of Lethington, now the secretary of Mary, said, in answer to their remonstrances: "When the ministers have obtained their share, the queen will not get, at the year's end, enough to buy her a pair of new shoes." Well might John Knox declare, when this arrangement was decided: "I see two parts freely given to

the devil, and the third must be divided between God and the devil. Ere it be long, the devil shall have three parts of the third, and judge you then what God's portion will be." It was in vain that the ministers complained of the smallness of their allowance, and the grudging and delay with which that little was paid, while the popish prelates, whose office had ceased, enjoyed more than ten thousand merks. Their paymasters told them scornfully in reply, that there were many lairds in Scotland who had not so great a rental—not recollecting that the common pursuits of industry and profit were open to these lairds, independently of their possessions. "Oh, happy servants of the devil, and miserable servants of Jesus Christ!" cried some of the reformers, "if after this life, there were neither hell nor heaven."

Although the cause of the reformation was thus so impoverished, that mere political calculation might have predicted its speedy downfall, yet still it continued to go onward with a steady and irresistible progress. It is worthy of remark also, that this advance was mainly occasioned by those very causes that threatened its destruction. The same selfishness that induced the courtiers to stint the allowances of the ministers, made them earnest in their resistance to popery; for they knew that if it resumed its ascendancy, it would soon compel them to make restitution. Thus, many a goodly estate, which having once belonged to the church, was declared to be the rightful property of the church for ever, would have reverted to its former patrimony; and many a rich revenue, which enabled their holders to ruffle in the approaches to Holyrood at the head of a gallant retinue, would have gone back to the coffers of impoverished monks, and desponding abbots. As for the queen, whose ambition had been expressed so decisively, that she would become the nursing mother of the fallen church, she soon saw that the other party were wholly in the ascendant, and therefore she found herself compelled, for the time at least, to discountenance the popish lords and prelates, and bestow her favour upon their adversaries. Even the Lord James also, whose bravery and political skill had made him the chief leader of the movement, but who was now perplexed between the just claims of the clergy, and the self-seeking of the protestant lords, was taken into the confidence of the queen, so that he had the chief government of her councils, and was raised to the high rank of Earl of Murray.

At the same period that the best of the protestant nobles was thus raised to place and power, the wealthiest and most influential of the opposite party was brought low. This was the Earl of Huntley, who had joined the reformation for a short time, but only to betray it, and who afterwards showed himself its most inveterate enemy. His influence was so great in the north, that he boasted he could at any time set up the mass in three counties; and he was now indignant at the rise of the Earl of Murray, by whom he considered himself eclipsed. On the queen and Murray making a progress northward, Huntley, who thought that his hour of vengeance had come, assembled his vassals, and attacked the royal escort at Corrichie, near Aberdeen; but his forces were routed by the Earl of Murray, and himself, being an old and corpulent man, was smothered with the weight of his armour. His estates were immediately seized by the crown, and the once-powerful family was reduced for a time to penury and helplessness. This event spoke a warning to the nobles, which John Knox was not slow to interpret; and he thundered from the pulpit an admonition, that made them writhe and tremble. "Have you not seen one greater than any of you," he said, "sitting where presently ye sit, pick his nails, and pull down his bonnet over his eyes, when idolatry, witchcraft, murder, oppression, and such vices were rebuked? Was not this his common talk, 'When these knaves have railed their fill, then will they hold their peace?' Have ye not heard it affirmed to his own face, that God would revenge that his blasphemy even in the eyes of such as were witnesses to his iniquity? Then was the Earl of Huntley accused by you as the maintainer of idolatry, and only hinderer of all good order: him hath God punished, even according to the threatenings that his and your ears heard, and by your hands hath God executed his judgments. But what amendment can be espied in you? Idolatry was never in greater quiet, virtue and virtuous men were never in more contempt; vice was never more bold, nor punishment less feared. And yet, who guides the queen and court; who but the protestants? Oh, horrible slanderers of God and of his holy evangel! Better it were unto you plainly to renounce Christ Jesus, than thus to expose his blessed evangel to mockery. If God punisheth not you so, that this same age shall see and behold your punishment, the spirit of righteous judgment guides me not."

The political question that was now of paramount importance, not only in Britain, but throughout Europe, was

the marriage of the young and beautiful Scottish queen. Not only was it important as a subject affecting the general reformation, and the conflict between the popish and protestant interests, but also on account of the rich prospect of wealth and power which it opened to the successful suitor. Elizabeth of England, now in her thirty-second year, was still unmarried; the queen of Scots was next in succession; and upon the choice of the latter might depend the question, whether the whole island of Britain, comprised under one rule, should be governed by a popish or a protestant dynasty. The honour of such an alliance had been already sought by the King of Sweden, and the Archduke Charles of Germany: on the one hand, Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, had proposed the Infant of Spain, and on the other, Elizabeth, though with the purpose to embroil, rather than settle a question in which she was so deeply interested, proposed her own worthless minion, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, but without any design that the offer should be accepted. Even among Mary's own subjects also, there had been bold aspirants for a share of her throne, one of whom was her kinsman, the Earl of Arran, who had now become insane; and Sir John Gordon, second son of the Earl of Huntley, who had been brought to the block after the battle of Corrichie. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, if the reformed clergy felt deeply upon a subject in which the interests of religion were so much at stake, or that John Knox should utter his fears and warnings from the pulpit. To this course he was the more keenly urged, by the assurance, that the offer of the Spanish match had already been accepted in her name by the Cardinal of Lorraine. Accordingly, while preaching before the greater part of the protestant nobility, and reminding them of God's interpositions, and the duty they owed in return, he thus touched upon the delicate question at issue: "Now, my lords, to put an end to all, I hear of the queen's marriage; dukes, brethren to emperors and kings, strive all for the best game. But this, my lords, will I say,—note the day, and bear witness hereafter,—whensoever the nobility of Scotland consent that any infidel (all papists are infidels) shall be head to our sovereign, ye do so far as in you lieth to banish Christ from this realm; ye bring God's vengeance upon the country, a plague upon yourselves, and shall bring small comfort to your sovereign."

Tidings of these bold sentiments were speedily carried to the palace, and the preacher was summoned before the

queen. On a previous occasion, when he had been cited to answer for a severe discourse upon the levity of her amusements, which he judged incompatible with Christian decorum, she had complained of his carrying such matters to the pulpit, and desired him to come to her when he had any fault to reprehend, and announce it to her in private. But this he conscientiously refused, as incompatible with his sacred office. His duty required him to warn and rebuke all public offences in public. He could not wait at her chamber-door, to whisper in her ear what others spoke and thought of her. He offered, however, should offence be taken at any future period on account of his discourses, to wait upon her at any day and hour appointed, and rehearse the words of the obnoxious opinion. He was once more, therefore, within the halls of Holyrood to answer for his attacks upon royalty.

The interview on this occasion between Mary and the reformer, was one which orators and poets have loved to describe, and artists to delineate. But they have lost sight of the high moral grandeur of the preacher, in the beauty and misfortunes of the queen. As soon as he appeared, Mary burst into tears, but they were tears of anger: never had prince, she said, been used as she had been, and she vowed to be revenged. After Knox had justified the remarks he made in the pulpit, as originating in his duty as a minister, she sharply urged the question,—“What have you to do with my marriage?” He showed that both from the nature of his function, and the state of public matters, he had been constrained to speak. “What are you within the commonwealth?” cried the queen disdainfully: such liberties would have been intolerable in the serfdom of France. He might be a minister, or even a prophet; but his origin was humble, and his heraldry unknown, and therefore his duty was to submit and be silent. “I am a subject born within the commonwealth, Madam,” he replied; “and albeit I am neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet hath God made me, how abject soever I be in your eyes, a profitable and useful member within the same. Yea, Madam, to me it appertaineth, no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any one of the nobility, for both my vocation and office crave plainness of me. And therefore, Madam, to yourself I say that which I spoke in public,—whensoever the nobility of this realm shall be content, and consent that you be subject to an unlawful husband, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce

Christ, to banish the truth, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." Again the queen burst into a fit of weeping, while the stern reformer stood without change of countenance, witnessing what he considered nothing more than an "inordinate passion." After a long pause, he said,—“Ma-dam, in God’s presence I speak, I never delighted in the weeping of any of God’s creatures ; yea, I can scarcely well abide the tears of my own boys, when my hands correct them, much less can I rejoice in your majesty’s weeping. But seeing I have offered unto you no just occasion to be offended, but have spoken the truth as my vocation craves of me, I must sustain your majesty’s tears, rather than I dare hurt my conscience, or betray the commonwealth by silence.” This firm reply, the utterance of a fully resolved spirit, only made the queen more indignant, so that he was ordered to retire into the antichamber, and there await her further pleasure. While he stood there carefully shunned by all who knew him, as one branded by royal displeasure, he entered into playful discourse with the ladies present, like one whose mind had just been delivered from the load of a painful duty. “Fair ladies,” he said, “how pleasant were this life of yours, if it should ever abide, and then in the end, that we might pass to heaven with this gear ! But fie upon that knave, Death, that will come, whether we will or not ; and when he hath laid on the arrest, then foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender ; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble, that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, embroidery, pearl, nor precious stones.” In the midst of such discourse, an order came that he should retire to his house, and there wait further advertisement. The queen still unsatisfied, proposed that he should be punished as a rebel ; but on consulting with her council, she was persuaded to forego so dangerous an act of resentment.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

Causes of umbrage given by Queen Mary—Rizzio becomes her favourite—Her marriage with Darnley—Rizzio put to death—Darnley's suspicious death—Queen marries Bothwell—She is taken prisoner at Carberry—Resigns the crown—Death of Bothwell.

A. D. 1563 to A. D. 1567.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Philip II.	Ferdinand I. Maximilian II.	Pius IV. Pius V.

It thus appeared certain, that the hostility of the queen's religion to that of her subjects, would at no distant period proceed to open warfare. It was not enough that she abstained from religious persecution, that her chief counsellors were protestants, and that she consented that their creed should be the established religion of the land. This was a period when royal faith was seldom kept with heretics ; and the examples, both in France and Scotland, had already warned the protestants not to put their trust in princes. All oaths, treaties, and engagements, it had been repeatedly declared, were null and void from the beginning that militated against true religion, while it was carefully added, that there could be no true religion but that of the church of Rome. Besides, the mass was still celebrated within the royal chapel of Holyrood ; and so long as it kept possession of the palace, there was danger of its general re-establishment. Not content with this indulgence, Mary was also wont to have mass at the residences where she sojourned in her progresses, besides having it continued at Holyrood, as if she had still been present. Many of the lords, too, who had laboured in the reformation till their coffers were filled, were now as eager for peace as they had formerly been for war, and indignant at the warnings of Knox and his brethren, whom they represented as factious demagogues and rebellious anarchists.

But a subject which gave almost equal umbrage to that occasioned by the restoration of the mass, was the festive indulgence which the queen had introduced into her capital. Mary Stuart was a Scotchwoman only in theory : although the daughter and representative of a people austere in every change of their history, her education had been perfected,

and her character moulded, in the gay halls and among the sunny gardens of France; and thus she brought among a people as rugged as the soil they cultivated, and as stern as the sky under which they dwelt, the habits of the most polished, but also of the most profligate country in Europe. The Scots were just emerging from the gravest of all national struggles, so that the mirth which they had but barely tolerated in former years, was now regarded as sinful by the reflective, and unseasonable even by the profane. The protestants, who had thrown down the national temple of idolatry at the risk of being crushed beneath its ruins, were toiling amidst continuing danger, and with scanty resources, to build up a better church, while those of the other party, stunned by the havoc, looked on in silent consternation. Was this, then, a time for masques and pageants, for mirth and festival? But Mary, as if indifferent to the feelings alike of friend and enemy, introduced within the sober dark-brown walls of Holyrood, the splendid gaieties of the Louvre. It was an impolitic as well as a most unkind insult to the falling party she represented, and the austere reformers whom she pretended to cherish; and therefore, while the former began to be indifferent to her real interests, the latter considered her as one whom no remonstrances could soften. Midnight, at that time reckoned a strange hour for sobriety to be awake, was startled with the lights and music of the palace: dancing, at that period no harmless recreation, but too often an indecorous practice, and leading to every kind of licentiousness, closed a day of anxiety, suspense, and danger. Knox boldly denounced this unseasonable mirth from the pulpit, and branded it with the contemptuous epithets of "fiddling and flinging;" but what else would the popish clergy themselves have called it, had they dared to speak out?

Another cause of umbrage against the queen, arose from her indulgence in a practice which formed the characteristic of her race—that of favouritism; and, as if to aggravate an offence at all times obnoxious to the pride and jealousy of the Scots, her choice was as offensive as it could well have been. It fell upon a low-born and obscure, but arrogant man, and a foreigner; one David Rizzio, the son of a musician of Turin. This adventurer, after having been carefully instructed in his father's art, with no higher prospect than to preside over an orchestra, had come to Scotland in the train of the ambassador of the Duke of Savoy. The queen, delighted with his musical talents, at first made him



one of the singers of her private band ; but he so ingratiated himself into her favour, that soon after she appointed him her French secretary. This office gave him frequent and familiar access to her majesty ; and such was the arrogance with which he carried himself at court, and the splendid retinue he established, that the jealous nobles were indignant, so that we are told "some would frown upon him, others would shoulder and shoot him by, when they entered the queen's chamber, and found him always speaking with her." He was still more odious to the reformers, by whom he was not only known to be a papist, but justly suspected of being a pensioner of the Pope. Such also was the infatuation of Mary, and the open manner in which she evinced her favour to this upstart, that surmises prejudicial to her character were already prevalent among the people, which she took no steps to remove.

The important question of the queen's marriage which had been so vexatiously agitated, was at length settled ; and her election fell upon Henry Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, who had been banished during the regency of the Duke of Chastelherault for treasonable practices, but was now restored to his estates and honours by the queen. Darnley, who resided with his father at the English court, having obtained leave of absence for three months from Elizabeth, repaired to Edinburgh, where his attractive person and showy accomplishments, backed by the recommendations of Lethington and Rizzio, were so effectual, that in little more than five months the aspiring youth became the husband of a queen whom the greatest princes had sought in vain. Notwithstanding the inferior rank of the bridegroom, this union, in a political point of view, appeared so eligible, that before the youth's arrival, Mary had frequently considered the subject ; for Darnley was of royal descent, his grandmother being sister of Henry VIII., and his mother cousin-german to Elizabeth, on which account he ranked as first prince of the blood in England, and was next in succession, after Mary, to the English throne. By such a marriage, therefore, the houses of Tudor and Stuart might be indissolubly united, and the rule of the queen of Scots over the whole island finally established ; while on the other hand, the jealousy of Elizabeth and the English at Mary's alliance with a crowned head would be effectually obviated. Such were the advantages, which appeared so certain, that the most skilful politicians of both kingdoms rejoiced in the alliance. But there were opposite principles

still stronger than those of politics, upon which the parties do not seem to have calculated. Lennox was an adherent of the Romish Church ; his countess had been the attached friend of the persecuting Mary of England ; and as for Darnley himself, he was more than suspected of a leaning towards the same creed. Here was a strengthening of Popery which the Protestants could not view with indifference ; and Knox, Murray, and the most influential leaders of the party, contemplated the step with marked aversion. Mary, however, was not thus to be deterred from her purpose ; and she proceeded to establish herself against the recusants, by taking their opponents into favour, and recalling the banished lords. The Earl of Bothwell, Murray's deadliest enemy, was accordingly recalled from France, and the Earl of Sutherland from Flanders, while George, son of the Earl of Huntley, was restored to his father's honours and possessions. Having thus, as she thought, removed every obstacle, Mary was united to Lord Darnley on the 29th of July 1565, the queen being now in her twenty-third, and the bridegroom in his twenty-first year.

The trumpets of the heralds, which on this joyous occasion proclaimed Henry and Mary king and queen of Scotland, gave the signal of war and tumult as well as of festival. Darnley had been proclaimed king, but without leave asked and obtained of the parliament ; and with this objection, the nobles who had been opposed to the marriage, Murray, Chastelherault, Argyle, Glencairn, and Rothes, had recourse to arms. They had already expressed their opposition to the union, even at the last stage, by refusing to attend the festival, although formally summoned by the queen, and for this refusal they were banished from the court. Of these dissentients, the fiercest in opposition were the Hamiltons, as the queen's marriage destroyed all hope of their chief's succession to the throne,—an event of which they had never lost sight since the death of James V. ; and so deep was their rancour on this occasion, that they clamoured not only for the death of Darnley, but of Mary herself, as the only means of restoring peace to the realm. It required all the eloquence of Murray and Glencairn to reduce these fierce coadjutors to milder measures, or at least to silence their remonstrances. The queen, accompanied by Darnley, was in the field at the head of a considerable force, before the other party was prepared ; and kindled into an unfeminine enthusiasm for war, which this expedition

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inspired, she rode at the head of her troops with pistols at her saddle-bow, vowing she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge. Her campaign was both easy and brief; for so alert had been her movements that the insurgent lords had no time to collect their forces. On being roused at Hamilton by the queen's approach, they marched with their armed retainers to Edinburgh: Mary followed closely upon their tract, upon which they fled to Dumfries. Here also there was no rest for them, as Mary still continued the pursuit; upon which the insurgent lords, finding resistance hopeless, crossed the border, and took refuge in England. Such were the hasty evolutions of this insurrection, that it was called the Chase-about Raid. The reception which Murray and his friends, now impoverished exiles, received at the hands of Elizabeth, was truly infamous. Her conduct had previously been such, through her emissaries in Scotland, that in opposing the marriage, the nobles had been persuaded of her countenance and aid. This, however, was done so covertly and equivocally, that no specific promise could be adduced to that effect, by which the queen of England might be implicated in an attempt that had so signally failed. Of this duplicity she now took the full advantage. On the Earl of Murray and the Abbot of Kilwinning repairing to London, to crave assistance, she compelled them in open court, and before the Spanish and French ambassadors, to acknowledge that they had received from her neither aid nor promise in rising against their queen,—and then, turning unexpectedly upon them, she reproached them as traitors to their sovereign, and ordered them to quit her presence.

The dangers that now pressed upon the Reformation in Scotland were truly critical. Its best adherents were exiles in England, struggling with poverty and disgrace, while the upstart Rizzio, now all-powerful with Mary, and whom she enabled to live in a style of splendour which eclipsed that of the young king himself, was plotting the restoration of Popery, by establishing a royal guard of foreigners in Edinburgh, and cutting off the chief Protestants. To add to these perils of the church, an ambassador arrived from France, sent by Mary's uncle, the Cardinal of Lorraine, to procure her accession to an infamous plot, at the head of which were the sovereigns of France, Spain, and Germany. Their design was nothing less than to unite their power, and crush the cause of Protestantism, by war and persecution against the reformed of their respective kingdoms.

Instigated by her favourite, and persuaded by the glosing sophistries of her uncle, Mary believed that she would best promote the cause of true religion, by violating her solemn engagements, arming one part of her subjects against the other, and reducing all to uniformity by torture and massacre. She joined the league accordingly, and thus subscribed the sentence of her own deposition.

What was to be done in such a crisis? The first struggle for extrication was but too characteristic of the fierce spirit and semi-barbarism of the times. All eyes were darkly turned upon Rizzio, and low mutterings were heard of the fate of the guilty Cochrane at Lauder Bridge. The Protestants dreaded him as the successful emissary of the Pope; he was hated by the nobles for his unbounded court influence, and his splendid style of living. A plot was soon formed against him, headed by the Earl of Morton, now chief of the Douglasses, who was indignant at being outshone by an upstart; the Earl of Lennox, who regarded the Italian as a usurper of the consequence that rightfully belonged to his son; and Lord Ruthven, a zealous Protestant, who considered Rizzio as already a convicted traitor and conspirator against the Reformation, and therefore worthy of punishment. The plot was also joined by Darnley himself, burning with jealousy at the queen's regard for the favourite, by whom he believed himself foully supplanted. Such was the variety of motives by which this coalition was moved: as for the moral question of slaying the foreigner, that appears to have given them little trouble. They called to mind those instances in which the lords of Scotland had risen against their kings, and compelled them to execute the law, and the summary execution to which royal favourites had often been consigned. Rizzio was therefore to be apprehended where best he might,—at the queen's table, where his guards who usually attended him could not come to the rescue; and after a short trial, to be executed at the Cross of Edinburgh, as a common malefactor.

All being thus arranged, the conspirators proceeded to action on the evening of the 5th of March (1566). At the head of 150 men, they took possession of the palace gates and hall, and then proceeded to the interior in quest of their victim, while Darnley went before to prepare for their entrance. Mary was at supper in her private apartment, with the Countess of Argyle, her natural sister, and four of her principal officers, among whom was Rizzio, when the door silently opened, and gave to view the spectral appear-

ance of Ruthven, who had risen from a bed of sickness, and put on his armour, while behind him followed others of the band with torches and naked swords. In an instant Rizzio saw his doom, and clung to the queen, but his hold was loosened; he cried loudly for justice, but his cries were unheeded. While Darnley pinioned the struggling queen with his arms, the favourite was dragged into the neighbouring chamber, and would soon have been on his way to the gallows, when a loud noise, as of armed men rushing to the rescue, was heard from another part of the palace. This interruption was merely from the menials, armed with knives, spits, and other kitchen utensils, and headed by Bothwell and Huntley, who had been alarmed by the outcries; but the conspirators, fearing that a guard was at hand, hastily made sure of their victim, by dispatching him with fifty-six wounds.

This removal of a formidable enemy was the signal for Murray and the banished lords to return to Scotland. Their danger, however, was not yet ended. Mary, who, as soon as she learned that her favourite was dead, exclaimed, "Farewell tears, we must now think of revenge," was not slow to execute her threat. She was now a prisoner in her own palace, and under the control of the conspirators; but knowing that her husband was only a puppet in their hands, she soon allured him from this confederacy, and persuaded him to disavow the deed; after which she stole from Holyrood in his company, and galloped at midnight to Dunbar, where forces quickly assembled to her aid. At the head of eight thousand men she instantly marched towards Edinburgh, upon which the actors in the late tragedy took to flight. But instead of pressing her momentary advantage, she employed the offices of her brother, Murray, in conciliating the recusants, a task in which he might have fully succeeded, had it not been for the rashness of Mary herself. Not content with weeping over the death of her favourite, and making it the cause of all but a civil war, she caused his body to be raised from its place of hasty burial, before the gate of the royal chapel, and interred beside the grave of queen Magdalene, the beloved wife of her father James V,—an honour to an obscure Italian singer, which doubly strengthened the unseemly rumours against her fair fame that had sprung from her unbounded favour to Rizzio.

In the midst of these terrible dissensions, an event occurred by which the history of Scotland was thenceforth to cease as that of a separate and independent kingdom. Little

more than two months after the murder of Rizzio, Mary gave birth to a son on the evening of the 19th of June. On this joyful occasion, it might have been expected that the now forgiven Darnley would have been the most prominent personage at court. But amidst the festivals occasioned by the birth and baptism, he found himself lonely and despaired. In aiding the queen to escape from the murderers of Rizzio, he had served her purpose; and now that his task was ended, he felt himself thrown aside as useless. In his despondency he talked of going abroad; but as his departure from the kingdom would have thwarted the queen's interests, it was not permitted. In the mean time, one had risen in her favour, by whom not only the memory of Rizzio, but himself also was to be supplanted. This was James Hepburne, Earl of Bothwell, a gay and gallant, but most unprincipled man, already notorious for his vices not only in Scotland, but on the Continent, to which he had been banished; who had repeatedly sought the assassination of the Earl of Murray, and upon whom, since his recall from banishment, she had heaped favours with her wonted recklessness. So great, indeed, was the queen's growing attachment to this worthless courtier, that Darnley soon found he had removed one candidate to her favour, only to make way for another still more dangerous. Pining under this new neglect of his royal spouse, the young king, after lingering about the court, where he was not only discountenanced by Mary, but shunned by his former associates as a deserter, forsook Edinburgh, and at Glasgow fell dangerously ill of the small-pox. The strength of his constitution struggled against the malady, and being visited by the queen, he was persuaded to accompany her to Edinburgh, where he could be more carefully attended; but instead of being lodged, as had been promised, in the princely residence of Craigmillar, he was carried to the Kirk of Field, in the suburbs of the capital, and accommodated in an obscure farm-house belonging to his enemies. Here the unfortunate youth, languishing under the weakness of disease, and apprehensive from his present treatment of still darker evil, spent his time chiefly in devotion, while Bothwell and his adherents were plotting his death. On Sunday, the 9th of February (1567), their foul devices were accomplished. The queen, who had passed the day with the patient, and lavished upon him every endearment, left him at evening, as a masque was to be held in the palace, to grace the marriage of one of her attendants. As soon as

she departed, a quantity of gunpowder was stored under the king's apartment, a train carefully laid ; and while the maskers were revelling in Holyrood, Bothwell stole from the company, and repaired in disguise to the Kirk of Field. Two hours after midnight, the nearest citizens were startled by a sudden noise and shock under which their houses trembled ; and on rushing to the place of alarm, they found the king's lodging blown into ruins, and his body lying in the garden untouched by the flame, with every appearance of having been strangled before the explosion took place.

The suspicious intimacy between Mary and Bothwell previous to this event, had excited the grief and shame of the country at large ; the circumstances that followed tended not only to fix the guilt on Bothwell, but even to criminate the queen herself. Two days were allowed to elapse before any proclamation was made for the apprehension of the murderer, while the body was buried privately, and without royal honours, in the chapel of Holyrood. Days still elapsed ; and although every tongue named Bothwell as the murderer of her husband, Mary took no steps by which he might be criminated or cleared,—an apathy that deepened the general suspicion against herself. As for Bothwell, he rode fiercely through the streets of Edinburgh, his hand on his dagger-hilt, and an armed retinue at his heels, defying any one to charge him as the culprit. He afterwards repaired with the queen to Seton Court, where they amused themselves with pastimes, while the whole land was still shuddering at the recent murder. But the growing throng of accusations was not thus to be beaten down, and a trial was tardily granted, at which Bothwell himself was judge as well as appellant. The approach to the court was guarded by his armed retainers ; the building was thronged and the bench filled by his friends, while himself presided as the dispenser of justice ; so that had the Earl of Lennox, who was ready to press the charge, ventured to appear, he probably would soon have followed his unfortunate son. After a mock trial, where none was so hardy as to become the accuser, Bothwell was absolved by judges who had taken their seats for the purpose. He then offered combat by public proclamation to any one who would still accuse him of the king's death ; but as Morton, Huntley, Argyle, and Lethington, were banded in his favour, the castle in his keeping, and the city filled with his dependents, the challenge was nothing else than an empty bravado.

It soon appeared that the murder of Darnley was but a stepping-stone to fresh iniquity. After the trial, Bothwell was loaded by the queen with new honours, as if to prepare the public for something higher still ; and the full purpose was already surmised, from the eagerness with which he sought to be divorced from his wife, a sister of the Earl of Huntley. But it was put beyond a doubt only seven days after the trial. The daring intriguer invited the principal nobles to supper at one of the city taverns ; and when the company were heated with wassail and merriment, Bothwell, who had surrounded the house with two hundred hagbutters, rose and requested their assent and recommendation to his becoming husband to their twice-widowed queen, alleging that this proposal coincided with her own express desire. Flustered with wine, allured by his promises, hemmed in by armed banditti ready to obey so unscrupulous a leader, the guests yielded, and eight earls, three lords, and six bishops subscribed the document which he had prepared for the purpose. Nothing now remained but to get the queen's person in his power, for which she afforded him every facility. On the 21st of April, she repaired to Stirling, to visit her infant son now in the keeping of the Earl of Mar, governor of the castle ; and on returning to Edinburgh, her slender train was surrounded at Almond Bridge by eight hundred spearmen headed by Bothwell, who seized her bridle-rein, and carried her off with gentle violence to his castle of Dunbar. Thus secure of the queen, he next procured a divorce from his countess through her own connivance, by the authority of the Archbishop of St Andrews, who had been previously armed with consistorial powers for that express purpose, after which, Mary and Bothwell rode in friendly fashion to Edinburgh, and took up their residence in the castle. On the first tidings of her seizure, her friends had armed, and offered to come to her aid ; but she assured them in reply, that although taken against her will, she had found no cause of complaint. Even now, also, when she was safe within her own capital, she presented herself before the lords with the same terms of satisfaction, and declared that she meant to promote the Earl of Bothwell to still higher honour. Accordingly, on the 12th of May, he was created Duke of Orkney, and on the 16th, her marriage with the bold bad man was solemnized at Holyrood. The reformed ministers had been required to proclaim the banns ; but they trembled and refused, while John Craig, the minister of the High Church, in the absence of Knox, justified his



refusal before the Privy Council, by charging Bothwell, who was present, as one guilty of murder, and other flagitious crimes. At length, when the queen's authority interposed, Craig, as a dutiful subject obeyed; but while proclaiming the banns, he added, "I take heaven and earth to witness, that I abhor and detest this marriage, as odious and slanderous to the world; and I would exhort the faithful to pray earnestly, that a union against all reason and good conscience may yet be overruled by God, to the comfort of this unhappy realm."

Events so shamefully subversive of all that draws men together, and constitutes the bond of society, made a national revolt inevitable. Was such a woman, it was asked, controlled by such a husband, to be entrusted with the custody of her child? Already, she had at least permitted the sacrifice of the father; and would she spare the son, the heir of the crown, from the unscrupulous ambition of Bothwell? Even her most devoted friends were compelled to answer in the negative, and a coalition for the safety of the royal infant was formed, the leaders of which were the Earls of Morton, Huntley, Mar, and Athol, Lords Hume and Lindsay, the sagacious but versatile Maitland of Lethington, and Kirkaldy of Grange, accounted the best soldier in Scotland. Alarmed at this formidable confederacy, Mary and Bothwell retired to Borthwick Castle; but their adversaries, who had hastened to action, advanced by a rapid midnight march, and surrounded the fortress with nine hundred spears. Unable to withstand a siege, Bothwell stole out by a private postern, and escaped to his castle of Dunbar, whither he was soon after followed by Mary, booted and spurred, and disguised as a courier. At Dunbar, they were speedily joined by two thousand men, at the head of which force they marched hastily towards Edinburgh, hoping to crush the confederates in their stronghold. But the Lords of the Secret Council, as they were now called, were equally on the alert, and marching out to the conflict, they found the queen's forces encamped on Carberry Hill. Le Croc, the French ambassador, who was now in the queen's camp, endeavoured, but in vain, to conciliate the opposite party. "We are not in arms against our queen," said Morton, "but against the murderer of her husband: let her give him up, and we will requite her with obedience." "We have not come here," said Glencairn, still more sternly, "to solicit pardon, but to give it." At these conclusive answers the ambassador retired.

A wavering was now apparent among the royal forces, of whom none but the immediate followers of Bothwell showed any readiness for the encounter. He therefore endeavoured to rouse their ardour, by mounting his war-horse, and sending a herald to the enemy, with a challenge of single combat to any one who dared to accuse him of the murder of the late king. Two barons successively started forward for the honour of entering the lists against him, but they were rejected by Bothwell as not being his equals in rank. Lord Lindsay of the Byres, a gallant man-at-arms, and steady adherent of the reformation, against whom no such objection could be offered, then prayed his brother nobles to accept him as their champion, which was allowed, and Morton girded him for the conflict with the huge two-handed sword of Archibald Bell-the-Cat. But at the sight of this formidable warrior, Bothwell's wonted courage seemed to fail, and he allowed the queen to forbid the combat. His forces were now stealing away piecemeal, until his whole army had well nigh dissolved, upon which the queen advised him to consult his own safety by instant flight. He complied, and hurried off the field unaccompanied, being unable to trust any longer even his own attendants. Mary then surrendered herself to Kirkaldy of Grange, on that gallant soldier assuring her, by commission from the lords, that if Bothwell was discarded, they would obey her as their sovereign. But why did the lords allow Bothwell to escape, when he might have been intercepted so easily? To this it might be answered, that his absence insured the safety of their young prince, the purpose for which they had arrayed themselves in arms. But there is too much reason also to fear, that while some of them had been privy to the assassination of Darnley, others had been even consenting to the deed. It was their interest, in such a case, that Bothwell should not be driven to extremities, and compelled to speak out.

Mary having thus surrendered herself to her subjects, began already to experience that misery which awaits deposed sovereigns. She was received by the soldiers with outcries of rage and scorn, and reviled as an adulteress and the murderer of her husband; while the standard which they had brought to the field, having painted on it the dead body of Darnley, and the young prince kneeling beside it, exclaiming, "Judge, and avenge my cause, O Lord!" was held up before her eyes wherever she turned. She was conducted to Edinburgh, which she entered at night, exhausted,

and covered with dust, a spectacle of mockery and reproach to the crowds that followed; but like a lioness at bay, she turned upon them with the threat, that she would burn the town, and quench it in the blood of its inhabitants. The lords of Secret Council now experienced the full difficulty of those who hold their sovereign captive. The mildest alternative suggested was perpetual imprisonment, while others urged her trial and execution. At last, she was conveyed to the castle of Lochleven, and committed to the custody of William Douglas, its proprietor. This apparent breach of engagement was indignantly resented by Kirkaldy of Grange; but the lords silenced him, by producing a letter they had intercepted, written by the queen to Bothwell since her surrender, in which she broke her compact, by assuring him that she would never desert him. Another event soon after happened that still more completely darkened the prospects of the royal captive. Bothwell, who was still lurking in Dunbar, sent for a silver casket which he had deposited in the castle of Edinburgh; but the servant was apprehended, and the casket being examined by the lords, was found to contain the queen's correspondence with Bothwell before their marriage, by which her participation in the murder of Darnley was but too well confirmed. After this, there could be no further question of her restoration, more especially as, instead of renouncing the unworthy Bothwell, she still vowed that she would rather beg with him than reign without him: she was now considered not only unfit to rule, but unsafe to go at large, and therefore the establishment of a new government was fully resolved. The infant prince was to be crowned, the Earl of Murray appointed regent during the prince's minority, and the queen's assent to be obtained to her own deposition. This bitter concession she was compelled to make in her dreary solitude of Lochleven. Her child was crowned on the 29th of August, by the title of James VI.; and Murray, being recalled from France, was invested with the honours and cares of regency.

While the fate of Mary was thus so disastrous, that of her partner in iniquity was more deplorable still. That ambitious and remorseless profligate, who had sinned so deeply to attain an elevation where he found not a moment's peace, and whence he was driven in one short month, found himself, after his solitary flight from Carberry, a hunted fugitive in the country of which he had so lately been proclaimed king. He took refuge among the bleak recesses of Orkney

and the neighbouring isles, until his poverty became so urgent, that he had recourse to the miserable shifts of piracy to procure an uncertain subsistence. He was pursued, and almost surprised among his dreary rocks and shallows by Kirkaldy, upon which he took to flight, and landed in Denmark. There, however, when demanded whence he came, and whither he was going, his answers were considered so unsatisfactory, that he was committed to ward; and afterwards, on being recognised by some merchants as the notorious Bothwell of Scotland, he was thrown into close prison, where he languished ten years amidst filth, misery, and privation, and died a wretched maniac. Tragedy itself has seldom imagined guilt more atrocious than his, or more fearfully retributed; thus showing, that poetical justice is no mere fable, and that guilty princes and nations are not too great for punishment.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII.

**Regency of Murray**—The queen escapes from Lochleven—Battle of Langside—Mary's flight to England—She is tried in England for the murder of her husband—Sought in marriage by the Duke of Norfolk—His design defeated—Lethington's mock trial—Murray assassinated.

A.D. 1567 to A.D. 1570.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Maximilian II.	Philip II.	Pius V.

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1567. Persecution of the protestants in the Netherlands by the Duke of Alva.
- 1568. The Moors exterminated in Spain by Philip II.
- 1569. Protestants defeated in France at Jarnac and Moncontour.
- 1569. Royal Exchange built in London by Sir Thomas Gresham.

THE regency thus so frankly bestowed upon the Earl of Murray during his absence, was no mere gratuitous boon of his countrymen. Always an office of danger and difficulty in Scotland, from the powerful aristocracy which it was compelled to confront, it was at present so entangled, that no talents short of his were reckoned sufficient for the task. In accepting it, he armed against himself the powerful family of the Hamiltons, who regarded his exaltation as

an insult to their own superior claims; and the nobles of the queen's party, who regarded him not only as a traitor to his sovereign, but an unnatural enemy to his sister. With more than half of the nobility thus arrayed against him, he might still have found a resource in the unity of his own party; but here, the prospect was, if possible, still more perplexing. Of those nobles and barons by whom he had been called to Scotland in the hour of danger, some had no care but for their own selfish interests, and would be ready to desert him in danger or reverse. Others, enriched with church plunder, maintained a fierce warfare with the reformed clergy, whom they kept in utter poverty, and were ready to resist every interference of the regent in behalf of the church's claims, more strenuously than either the restoration of Mary, or even the enthrallment of their country. Thus, while every step of duty was to be a conflict not only with his enemies, but with his friends and supporters, the general lawlessness of the country was to be bridled, and its numerous feuds suppressed; the aid of Elizabeth in behalf of the interests of the reformation and the infant sovereign secured, and yet her grasping encroachments upon the liberties of the nation kept in check. Such were the difficulties he encountered, such the perils to which he exposed himself, in accepting the thankless office of regent. On his arrival in Scotland, he had hoped, indeed, that these might be obviated by a very natural process. The calumnies heaped upon the unfortunate Mary might be only the aspersions of party rancour; which a dispassionate examination would disprove; and having thus cleared herself, her restitution to the government could be easily accomplished. In this benevolent hope, Murray repaired to Lochleven, and held friendly intercourse with its pining inmate. But proofs of her complicity in the murder of Darnley too powerful for even fraternal affection to obviate, were adduced by his alarmed supporters, so that he found himself compelled, as the last resource of duty, to submit to an office filled with all the cares and dangers, but having none of the honours or enjoyments of a royal seat.

Notwithstanding these difficulties with which he was surrounded at the outset, the new regent commenced his career with vigour, wherein no favour was shown to high and titled malefactors. He also made a progress through the country, in which, as on former occasions, he tamed the wild borderers, and inflicted summary justice upon their principal marauders, without heeding the remonstrances of

their powerful chieftains, by whom these excesses were abetted. This rigid administration, so unwonted in Scottish government, but so necessary for the troubled state of the country, soon called his enemies into action ; and a union was formed among them for the liberation of the queen, at the head of which were the Hamiltons, who hoped to attain the long-coveted honours of royalty, by having Mary entirely within their power. They were joined by the Earls of Huntley and Argyle, who were related to the Hamiltons ; by Murray of Tullibardin, one of the challengers of Bothwell at Carberry Hill, but a papist, and therefore opposed to the regent on the score of religion ; by Maitland of Lethington, that most able, but most restless and versatile of politicians, who had embraced, furthered, and forsaken every party in turn since the regency of Mary of Guise ; and by Sir James Balfour, the unscrupulous accomplice, and afterwards the betrayer of Bothwell. The latter being now a prisoner in Denmark, and without prospect of liberation, the conspirators hoped that the queen, if reinstated, would be entirely under their own control. The only difficulty was to free her from prison, but this she soon accomplished by her own address. So effectually had she ingratiated herself with her keepers, that they were won over to her interests, and the plan of escape arranged. On the evening of the 2d of May, the key of the castle gate was stolen by a page, who silently conducted Mary with two attendants to the lake, and rowed them over in a skiff to the opposite side. Here, she was received by Lord Seton and an armed party, who had been waiting her arrival, with whom she set off at full gallop to Hamilton. She was soon joined by those nobles and barons who retained their old allegiance, or were adherents of the Romish faith, besides those shifting characters whom the strict administration of the regent had alarmed, or who hoped to profit by a change. Their followers soon amounted to six thousand men, confident in their cause and the royal presence, and eager for immediate conflict.

At this moment the situation of Murray was highly critical. He was at Glasgow, scarcely eight miles distant, holding a justiciary court, and attended only by his own retinue, while of the adherents who accompanied him, some were already stealing away to the enemy's camp. Alarmed at the danger, his friends counselled a hasty retreat ; but as such a step would have given strength and courage to the insurrection, he resolved, with whatever forces he could

muster, to become the assailant. Having formed this daring resolution, he sent speedy intelligence to those of his own party whom he could trust, while he amused his opponents with negotiation. The hours thus gained produced armed bands; he was joined by Morton, Lennox, Hume, and other allies, who reached Glasgow by forced marches, so that he was soon at the head of between three and four thousand men, with whom he resolved to give battle. The intention of the other party was to march to Dumbarton, where, after having placed the queen for safety in the castle, they might pursue or procrastinate the war at pleasure; but the regent anxious to anticipate such a campaign, threw himself across their path at Langside, by which their route lay, and occupied the hill at the foot of which the village stood. Thus finding instant battle inevitable, the queen's party rushed forward to the encounter with a rashness that predicted their overthrow. The conflict became so desperate, that the opposing spears of the front ranks crossed each other in a close struggle of weight and personal strength, and formed a level platform, strewn with the missiles of those who hurled them from behind, while each party endeavoured by sleight or endurance to bear the other to the earth. As they thus swayed to and fro on equal terms, and with all the deep hatred of civil strife, a furious charge from the right wing of the regent's army, headed by Kirkaldy of Grange, decided the day; the queen's forces reeled, and gave back before the additional shock; upon which Murray followed with so decisive an onset, that they were instantly put to the rout. Many would have been slaughtered in the flight, especially by the Highlanders in the regent's army, who fled when the battle was at the hottest, and only returned when all danger was over, to pursue and slay the fugitives, had not the humanity of Murray interposed with strict orders to spare those who no longer resisted. Such was the decisive battle of Langside, in which, notwithstanding the mutual fury of the combatants, with the queen for a spectator, and her crown staked upon the issue, little more than two hundred of her own party fell; while on the regent's side the loss consisted of only one soldier—a result that reminds us of the fierce but almost bloodless battles of the well-panoplied *condottieri*, during the Italian wars of the middle ages.

As for Mary, who had stood upon a neighbouring hill, an anxious witness of the conflict, she saw her last de-

fence shivered, in the utter discomfiture of her army, and the capture of its bravest leaders. Struck with the fear of being again a prisoner, she set off at full gallop, and never dismounted until she arrived at Dundrennan Abbey in Dumfriesshire, full sixty miles from the place of battle. Even there, the dread of captivity still haunted her, so that she formed the fatal resolution of putting the English border between herself and the pursuers, and taking refuge in the doubtful faith of Elizabeth. She accordingly crossed the Solway, and wrote to the queen of England from Workington, describing her helpless condition, and craving for shelter and aid. Elizabeth sent an answer full of assurances of kindness, while she charged her messengers to keep close watch upon the Scottish queen, and prevent her escape. After fifteen days of anxious suspense, Mary again wrote requesting a personal intercourse with her royal cousin, that she might clear herself from the foul charges which her subjects had heaped upon her. In the mean time, Murray had been equally alert, and with a similar application. After successfully repressing the queen's party, and restoring order, he turned his attention to England, where his character was now at stake, and to Elizabeth, whose unfavourable constructions were to be feared; and he offered to send commissioners to justify those steps by which his sovereign had been driven into exile. The offers of both parties were highly grateful to Elizabeth. She was thus about to be elevated into the office of a judge paramount: the fate of Scotland would be in her hands, as it had been with Edward I., upon the question of the royal succession; and warned by his errors, she resolved to go to work more silently and successfully than Edward had done.

Her first difficulty was to induce the parties to appear in person, and submit to the humiliation of an equal trial. Mary was therefore reminded of Elizabeth's sisterly affection, as well as her general attachment to the cause of sovereigns, now endangered by this Scottish rebellion; and how earnestly she desired to reconcile her cousin to her subjects, and replace her upon her throne. It was then softly added, that previous to such interference it behoved Mary to clear herself of the charge through which she had been deposed, and that also by a fair assize before the queen of England, whom she had herself chosen as judge. Mary was indignant at this proposal into which her frank offer had entrapped her, by which her accusing subjects would



be her equals, and the queen of England her superior and sovereign. She was ready, she said, to confront Morton and Lethington, her principal accusers, in a private interview, and before competent witnesses, but to more than this she would not submit. On the other hand, Murray was ready to send commissioners, whose proofs would sufficiently justify the part he had taken against his sister and mistress before any tribunal whatever; but as yet, he does not seem to have calculated the necessity of a personal appearance for such a purpose. Elizabeth endeavoured to reconcile both parties to the humiliation with her wonted cunning. To the regent, she promised that if Mary's guilt was established, she should then be detained a close prisoner in England; while to the queen of Scots, she intimated that Murray's accusations in open court, so far from being received, would be quashed and silenced, and the way thus opened for her complete restoration. A month was spent in procrastination, occasioned by the intrigues of this double-dealing, which was at last crowned with the desired success. Mary reluctantly assented, on the understanding, that Elizabeth was not to act as judge, but as her friend, kinswoman, and counsellor, and for the purpose of reinstating her upon the Scottish throne. After this, the lighter task was to deal with the regent, and obtain proofs of Mary's guilt. He was ordered therefore to send his commissioners to York, with the intimation, that their non-appearance would establish their sovereign's innocence, and his own condemnation as a rebel. Engaged as he was in restoring order to the distracted country, his absence at such a period was most unseasonable; but as the nobles were averse to the task, he found himself compelled to repair to England in person, as the principal accuser. He went accordingly to York, taking with him as commissioners the Earl of Morton, Lord Lindsay, the Bishop of Orkney, and the Commendator of Dunfermline. To these were added several assistants, the chief of whom was the restless and subtle Lethington, whom the regent dared not leave behind, and the celebrated George Buchanan.

The events of a trial so strange and unprecedented as that of an independent sovereign before a foreign tribunal, were so numerous, and withal so complex, that the chief of them can only be glanced at in a compend of Scottish history. It commenced on the 3d of October (1568) before the commissioners of the English queen, and the Duke of Norfolk, who was at their head. Murray had brought with

him the contents of Bothwell's casket, which he intended to produce as proofs of Mary's guilt, but only at the last extremity, and when every other proof had failed ; while Mary, conscious of this intention, was anxious that they should be withheld, even though her innocence might still be called in question. The very commencement of the trial, also, was ominous of an unsatisfactory conclusion, for it was a demand on the part of the Duke of Norfolk on the first day of meeting, that the Scottish commissioners should do homage to the crown of England, as their sovereign had chosen Elizabeth for her judge. To this, Lethington sharply replied, that when Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were restored, with such other lands as Scotland did of old possess in England, homage would be gladly made for the said lands ; but as to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, it was more free than England had lately been, when it paid St Peter's penny to the Pope. When the complaint of Mary's commissioners was stated, charging the Earl of Murray with rebellion, the latter, instead of proceeding, as was expected, to justify himself by the proofs of the queen's accession to the murder of Darnley, merely adduced the fact of the queen's marriage with Bothwell, and the general odium which that step had occasioned. This backwardness arose from his doubts whether the queen of England would pronounce his mistress guilty, let the evidence be what it might, in which case he would only criminate her to his own hurt. But Elizabeth being determined that Mary should at least be *accused* of the murder, caused the trial to be removed from York to Westminster, that the court might be more completely under her control. There, the regent was so closely coerced by Elizabeth and her ministers, that after much reluctance he was compelled to speak out. He accused Mary of being accessory to the murder of Darnley ; and on being urged for proof, he produced the fatal casket and its contents. These were considered so conclusive, that Mary was advised by Elizabeth to resign her claims in favour of her son, and retire into private life, a proposal which the former indignantly rejected, declaring that the letters were a forgery, and that the last words she uttered, should be those of a queen of Scotland. After three months had been wasted in this trial, of which we have only alluded to the principal heads, a definitive sentence was pronounced, that involved the whole matter in its original uncertainty. Murray and his adherents were declared to have done nothing prejudicial to their honour and allegiance—but

that on the other hand, nothing had been adduced that could justly inculcate the queen of Scotland. Thus, both the opposing parties were declared to have been in the right, and on the 13th of January 1569 the regent set out for Scotland.

Such was the unsatisfactory result of a trial in which not only such foul guilt was arraigned, but so deep an interest at stake. Still, the politic and selfish queen of England had accomplished her purposes without the odium of a condemnation. The proofs of Mary's crime had been dragged into open day, and her character blasted by the exposure. She might now be safely detained a prisoner in England, in which case, her rival could exercise the chief direction of Scottish affairs, with more security than ever. But besides these political advantages, Elizabeth was gratified as a woman by the degradation of one whose charms had eclipsed her own. All this being accomplished, she cunningly stopped short, when to have proceeded farther would have degraded the majesty, and compromised the safety of a crowned head, in which her own interests were as deeply at stake as those of the unfortunate queen of Scotland. Little did she know, however, how soon the dreadful precedent she had afforded of a trial, where a sovereign was the culprit and subjects the accusers, would be repeated upon one of her own successors ; and that in the latter case, the arraignment at Westminster would only be a prelude to the scaffold at Whitehall.

Even as it was, however, this trial was not without immediate danger to Elizabeth, from a dark political undercurrent with which it was accompanied, originating in the ambition of the Duke of Norfolk. This nobleman, the grandson of that Earl of Surrey who had won the victory of Flodden, although professedly a protestant, was covertly a papist ; and on the flight of Mary into England, he had contemplated a marriage with the fugitive, as the best means of restoring her to her throne, re-establishing the papal interests, and advancing himself to even a higher rank than that which he now held as the most influential of the English nobility. His first aim, therefore, was to prevent the trial ; his next, to facilitate Mary's restoration ; and both, he saw, might be easily accomplished by the removal of the Scottish regent. He accordingly instructed the Earl of Westmoreland to intercept him on crossing the border ; but as Murray was accompanied with a formidable train, the ambush was withdrawn, so that he reached York

in safety. Thus disappointed in his hope of destroying the principal witness, and the written evidences of Mary's guilt, which Murray carried with him, the duke held close conferences with Lethington, in whom the scheme of the marriage had originated, and by whom he was taught to throw such impediments into the trial, as had nearly rendered it abortive. The disappointment that followed only suggested still more desperate expedients, so that he now began to contemplate the dethronement and death of his own sovereign, as the only step by which his ambitious purposes could be accomplished.

The return of the regent to Edinburgh after his harassing cares at York and Westminster, was particularly grateful to all the lovers of order; for in consequence of a report spread abroad by the queen's faction, that he was a prisoner in the tower of London, the marauders of the land had emerged from their hiding-places. The suddenness of his arrival quickly cleared the highways, and restored security and peace. His first movement was to suppress the power of the Hamiltons. Their chief, who had been adopted by Mary as her father, and appointed Lieutenant of the kingdom, exercised his new office like an independent sovereign, by disowning the authority of the young king and the regent, and issuing proclamations forbidding obedience to be given to any officers but those of his own appointment. Resolute in suppressing this rival government, Murray acted with his wonted vigour and decision. He summoned the duke, and commanded him to subscribe allegiance to James VI., and give hostages for his dutiful conduct; and on demurring at this proposal, the proud sovereign-expectant was imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. Following this energetic course, the regent next proceeded against the duke's powerful allies, the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, who had risen in arms, the former of whom he compelled to dismiss his forces, and the latter to make restitution to those he had injured, and give hostages for his future allegiance. Having thus broken up the armed confederation by which the peace of the country was subverted, and the government menaced, he proceeded to the northern counties, the wild excesses of which he soon suppressed by the execution of the ringleaders.

While the regent was thus employed, the dangers against the country from England were rapidly accumulating. The project of the Duke of Norfolk to espouse the Queen of Scots, in which he was countenanced by some of the most

influential noblemen in England, was fast ripening into action ; and Elizabeth, as yet unconscious of the design, was induced to send the choice of three proposals to the regent in behalf of the deposed queen, which were laid before a convention of the nobles assembled at Perth on the 25th of July. These proposals were, either that Mary should be restored to the throne, to hold it upon the same tenure as before—or that her son should be united with her in the government under a regency, until he reached the age of seventeen—or, finally, that she should be suffered to return to Scotland, and there enjoy full liberty, but as a private person. The first proposal was declared impossible, and the second dangerous ; as for the third, it was regarded more favourably, although no definite assent was yielded. But in addition to these proposals from Elizabeth, by which she was delivering the Queen of Scots into the hands of her adherents, and unconsciously arming both nations for her own destruction, there was another from Mary, which excited still deeper attention and alarm : it was, that competent judges should be appointed to review her marriage with Bothwell, so that if found illegal, it might forthwith be dissolved. The queen's party in the Scottish parliament, who were urgent upon this proposal, pretended to wonder why those of the opposite faction, who only a year ago had been so clamorous for her separation from Bothwell, should now be so reluctant to effect it. But the king's party were already aware of the drift of this application, and justly trembled for the consequences of a fourth marriage on the part of their sovereign, with a nobleman so powerful and popishly inclined as the Duke of Norfolk. The proposal was therefore rejected, notwithstanding the support of Lethington, whose ambitious hopes were concentrated upon this favourite scheme, which had originated in his own politic brain. Such intrigues, however, as that of the proposed marriage, could not long remain hid from the knowledge of Elizabeth, to whom every bird of the air seemed to be a purchased spy ; and on learning the duke's intentions, she significantly warned him to beware upon what pillow he laid his head. Norfolk, on finding himself detected, promised to renounce his ambitious purpose ; but by continuing his intrigues, he showed that he either lacked power or purpose to make his promise good. The further narrative of his dark and dangerous course, which seems to have aimed at nothing short of the deposition of Elizabeth, the reign of himself and Mary over both kingdoms, and the complete

restoration of the Romish faith, belongs more properly to the history of England. It is enough to state, that in prosecution of his daring aim, he excited a rebellion in the northern counties of England, headed by the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, which was defeated, and that soon after he expiated his treason upon the scaffold.

In consequence of the deep share in these intrigues which had been taken by Lethington, that artful man, after the convention of Perth, had found it necessary for his safety to retire to Athol. But as he was too dangerous to be allowed to go at large, he was summoned by the regent to come to Stirling, and take his place at the council-board. The order being imperative, Lethington was compelled to leave his retreat; and, secure in his numerous adherents, he appeared at his place with a calm and resolute countenance. On his arrival, however, even while he sat at council, Thomas Crawford, a gentleman of the train of the Earl of Lennox, entered, and accused him of being an accomplice in the murder of Darnley. Lethington scornfully denied the charge, and offered himself for trial, upon which he was committed to ward in a private house in Edinburgh, until the appointed day arrived. From this restraint, however, he was soon delivered by his old associate, Kirkaldy of Grange, who, on showing an order forged in the regent's name for the delivery of the prisoner, obtained his release, and carried him off to the castle, of which he was now governor. But dearly did the gallant soldier pay for this unjust interposition. Lethington soon acquired over him the ascendancy of a cunning and powerful intellect, and converted one of the best champions of the reformation into an unscrupulous adherent of the queen. Having now the strongest fortress in the kingdom for his place of residence, and the greater part of the military force in Edinburgh at his devotion, Lethington urged the nomination of a day for trial, confident that he could either undergo or brave it with impunity. At the appointed time, when he came down from the castle, the city was occupied by a large body of horse commanded by his adherent, Lord Home; the principal nobles of the queen's party followed him to the tribunal, attended by troops of armed retainers; and all indicated, that let the charges be what they might, the accused was to be brought off in triumph. Such was the manner in which justice still continued to be brow-beaten in the Scottish capital, when the culprit had force upon his side. On the present occasion, it was but a repetition of the mock trial and absolution

of Bothwell : no accuser dared to present himself, and even Murray, who should have presided, found it unsafe to enter the city.

This daring event, by which the guilty was absolved, signified but too clearly that the danger was transferred from the criminal to the judge, and that the life of Murray, hitherto so eventful, and so full of struggle against prevailing lawlessness, would probably soon be hurried to a premature close. The omen was speedily verified. Among the prisoners who had been taken at the battle of Langside, and whose life had been spared by the clemency of the regent, was James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, nephew to the Archbishop of St Andrews. But although his estates had been forfeited on account of his rebellion, his wife, the heiress of Woodhouselee, upon the river Esk, retired to her own mansion, ignorant that her patrimony had been alienated by her husband to the Justice Clerk, as the price of his safety. The lady was rudely ejected from her home by the new occupant, and after wandering almost naked during the cold night, she was found in the morning in a state of incurable frenzy. Hamilton was furious for revenge ; but instead of limiting it to the real offender, he resolved to strike at the regent himself, whom he looked upon as the head and front of the atrocity. This false bias he had probably received from his own rebellious clan ; for a bond had been subscribed by the Hamiltons for the regent's destruction, and their emissaries were active throughout the country instigating others to join the infamous coalition. Bothwellhaugh now offered to be the actor of the deed, and thus animated by party, as well as personal feeling, he watched his opportunity first at Glasgow, and afterwards at Stirling, but in vain. At last, he selected Linlithgow, at a time when the regent was to pass through that town, on a journey from Stirling to Edinburgh. The cool deliberation with which the ruffian made his arrangements, resembled more the circumsppection of a bravo who murders for hire, and is only anxious to do it safely, than the daring of one who in taking a life, stakes his own upon the cast. Being accommodated by his uncle the archbishop with the use of a house in the principal thoroughfare, he planted himself in a small wooden gallery that projected into the main street ; covered the floor where he stood with a mattress, that his step might not be heard ; and hung a black cloth behind him, to prevent his shadow from being seen upon the wall. Having cut out a loop-hole beneath the latticed window, through which he

could level his carbine, that was loaded with three bullets, he waited in grim tranquillity for the coming of his victim.

Murray had been forewarned of some attempt against his life: even the house of the assassin had been pointed out, and an offer made to apprehend him. But the fearless regent disregarding the danger, hoped to escape it by riding quickly past the place. In this purpose he was prevented by the crowd that filled the street, and Bothwellhaugh took deliberate aim, and fired. The shot passed right through the lower part of the regent's body, and killed the horse of a gentleman who rode near his side. A wild uproar arose; but before the search commenced, the desperado had mounted a fleet horse, with which he soon distanced pursuit, and reached Hamilton in safety. As for Murray, he no sooner felt himself struck, than he dismounted from his steed, and walked up to the palace as if he had been unhurt. Soon, however, notwithstanding the hopes of his friends, it was found that he was mortally wounded, an intimation which he received with pious equanimity. On his friends complaining to him of his placability thus foully requited, and stating how easily all might have been avoided, had he but put the murderer to death, he nobly replied: "Your importunity will never make me repent my clemency." After committing his soul to God, and his young sovereign to the loyalty of his friends, he expired. This bereavement, so fatal to Scotland, occurred on the 23d of January 1570, after a life which, though so active and illustrious, was still in the prime of manhood. He only wanted the accident of legitimacy to have been one of the greatest, if not the greatest and best of Scottish kings; and his memory was long after cherished by his grateful country, under the title of "The Good Regent."

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

The Earl of Lennox appointed regent—Capture of Dumbarton Castle—Surprisa! of the king's parliament—Lennox slain—Earl of Mar raised to the regency—He is succeeded by the Earl of Morton—Death of John Knox.

A. D. 1570 to A. D. 1572.

A few hours only sufficed to show the loss that Scotland had sustained in the death of the good regent. The plot



against his life had been so well known, and the result so securely anticipated, that on the evening after the murder, Scott of Buccleugh and Ker of Pharnihirst made an inroad into the English border; and when the plunderers were menaced with Murray's resentment for this breach of the national peace, the reply was, "Tush! the regent is as cold as the bit in my horse's mouth!" While these powerful border chiefs thus endeavoured to advance the cause of their mistress by stirring up a new war with England, the other leaders of Mary's party armed themselves for civil conflict; and the Hamiltons, under pretext of maintaining order, only fermented the general disorder, in the hope of promoting their own ambitious projects. The country, like a ship deprived of the strong hand that had so ably steered it, was thus driven before the winds, and impelled towards rocks and quicksands.

The first question in such a crisis was the appointment of a successor to the regency; but a duty so obviously necessary at this moment was fiercely opposed by the Hamiltons. "What business," they asked, "had the Scottish parliament to choose a regent, without the sanction of their sovereign?" It happened also, as it frequently does in the most trying periods of a country, and when power is least desirable, that it was only the more strongly coveted, so that there were too many influential pretenders to the regency to make the choice either easy or safe. While the land was thus without a ruler, the king's party who assembled at Edinburgh, and the queen's whose head-quarters were at Leith, assembled their rival parliaments, and issued counter-proclamations against each other, so that obedience to either or none was equally punishable as treason. To add also to the miseries of civil contest, the English retaliated the inroad of Scott and Ker, by an invasion into Teviotdale, where they committed great devastation. After four months of anarchy, the Earl of Lennox, grandfather of the young sovereign, was appointed regent; and as the nomination was only by one party, he was instantly obliged to take the field for the suppression of the other. He raised an army, with which he overawed those lords of the queen's faction who had been most active in the civil war; chased the Earl of Huntley, their head, from Linlithgow, and recovered Paisley from the Hamiltons, who had placed a garrison there.

It would be both painful and unprofitable to follow out the events of that unnatural strife which now continued;

but of these, the capture of Dumbarton Castle was a feat of successful daring too remarkable to be omitted. This strong fortress, cresting the two summits of an almost insurmountable rock at the confluence of the Clyde and the Leven, and having these two rivers for moats, was still considered impregnable, notwithstanding the invention of gunpowder, and constituted, with the Castle of Edinburgh, the chief possession of the queen's party, by which they could bridle the kingdom and protract the war at pleasure. While the garrison of Dumbarton exulted in fancied security, one of their number who conceived himself unjustly treated by Lord Fleming, the governor, deserted, and repairing to the other party, explained by what means the rock might be scaled, and offered to be guide in the attempt. In consequence of his representations, Captain Crawford of Jordanhill, a gallant officer, and greatly esteemed by the late regent, undertook the perilous adventure. Having provided himself with ladders, ropes, and iron-cramps, for the purpose of escalade, he marched from Glasgow on the evening of the first of April, at the head of a small military force, sending a few horsemen before him to scour the highways towards Dumbarton and intercept all passengers, so that tidings of his approach might not be carried to the castle. Such also was his precaution, that even the soldiers were not aware of his purpose until they had nearly reached their destination. They silently won their way to the formidable rock, and began to ascend by the dim moonlight ; but the scaling ladders being hooked upon a slippery projection, lost their hold, and the stout assailants fell to the ground. Happily, however, the castle itself being surrounded by a fog, the sentinels could see nothing from the walls, and were not alarmed by the noise. Again the ladders were planted ; but when the topmost round was reached, the soldiers still found themselves twenty feet from a narrow ledge upon which alone they could obtain a standing. Crawford, however, scrambled up to an ash-tree that grew upon the ledge, and having fastened ropes to it, his followers were enabled to draw themselves up to the landing-place. A more dangerous ascent still remained before the walls could be reached, and to add to the difficulty, one of their number was taken with a sudden fit, and clung insensible to the rounds of the ladder ; so that while it was impossible to pass him, the garrison would have been roused by the cruel expedient of throwing him down headlong. In this trying dilemma, Crawford caused him to be tied to the

rounds, and the ladder reversed, and thus the soldiers were enabled to ascend over the belly of their insensible companion. Although they had now reached the foot of the walls, daylight was already breaking, upon which they planted their ladders for the third time, and commenced their last and most dangerous ascent. The guards roused at the noise, hurled stones at the foremost who were mounting; but these quickly gaining the rampart, slew the sentinels, and made way for their companions, who no sooner crowded upon the old crumbling wall, than it fell inward, bearing them right into the midst of their enemies. The garrison half-roused from sleep and confounded by this unexpected onset, were struck down or made prisoners almost without resistance; while Lord Fleming, half-naked, scrambled down the rock, threw himself into a boat that was moored at the bottom, and escaped into the Highlands. Such was the daring nature of this enterprise, that even the captors themselves, when they looked down upon the beetling cliffs which they had surmounted, declared, that had they known them better, they would not have made the attempt. The captives were kindly treated, with the exception of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, who, during the storming of the castle, was taken, accoutred for battle in a shirt of mail and steel bonnet. As he was obnoxious to the king's party on account of his talents and intrigues, he was brought to trial at Stirling, and convicted, among other crimes, of having been accessory to the murder of the regent Murray. He was sentenced to be hanged; and the ignominious doom was carried into execution on the 6th of April, notwithstanding his high office in the church, and powerful alliances.

Although the capture of Dumbarton Castle was a severe loss to the queen's party, as it precluded the hope of foreign assistance through the river Clyde, the civil contention still continued, while the existence of two rival parliaments only served to sanction the atrocities that were committed on either side. One of these parliaments held for the queen at Edinburgh, under protection of the guns of the castle, although it could muster no higher influence than that of two spiritual and three temporal lords, pronounced sentence of forfeiture against the regent and two hundred of the chief supporters of the opposite party; upon which their rivals convoked an assembly at Stirling, that was numerously attended, and held with great pomp, being graced with the presence of the young king, now only five

years old, who opened it with a speech which had been taught him for the occasion. They then proceeded to the work of retaliation, by proclaiming as traitors, the Duke of Chastelherault, the Earl of Huntley, Kirkaldy of Grange, and the principal adherents of the king's party.

Feeble, however, though the queen's cause apparently was, if estimated by parliamentary numbers, it possessed in Sir William Kirkaldy, a resource that promised to be more effectual than mere votes and condemnations. This able soldier, aware of the security in which the king's party had assembled at Stirling, resolved to requite them by a *camisade* that would more than counterpoise the loss of *Dumbarton*. As the deed required quickness and secrecy, only three hundred and forty border troopers, and sixty mounted *hagbutters*, were sent from the capital, with his instructions to surprise the town of Stirling, inhabited by more than two thousand men who could handle a weapon, and to capture the whole parliament in the midst of its throng of armed attendants. The assailants having left their horses a mile off, entered the town at midnight, with the same caution and success that had distinguished the rival exploit; and almost in an instant, the regent, the Earls of Glencairn, Argyle, Cassilis, Eglinton, Montrose, and Buchan, and the lords Semple, Cathcart, and Ogilvy, were roused from sleep to find themselves in the iron grasp of border freebooters. Thus far all had gone prosperously, and the future destinies of Scotland trembled in the scale, when one of those apparently trivial events occurred, by which Providence often confounds the wise and strong, and decides the fate of nations. The Earl of Morton, who, in the midst of the alarm, barricaded his lodging, and made a desperate resistance, was not made prisoner until the building had been set on fire; when alarmed by the noise, the Earl of Mar, governor of the castle, at the head of only forty soldiers, rushed out upon the borderers, who were already breaking into the shops in quest of plunder. At this unexpected assistance, the prisoners broke loose from their captors, the townspeople rose, and had not the assailants, true to their border habits, carried off every horse of Stirling in their flight, not one of them would have escaped. The regent, however, fell a sacrifice in the conflict. No sooner had the rescue arrived, than an officer of the opposite party, determined to make sure of him, basely came behind, and shot him in the back. The wound was mortal; and this father of a race of kings expired in the castle, affectionately recom-

mending his royal grandson to the care and fidelity of the surrounding lords.

On the day after the murder of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, by whom the parliament had been delivered, was appointed regent. But unfortunately for his country, he was of too gentle a spirit for the trying difficulties that surrounded him; and while he vainly endeavoured to restore peace by remonstrance and conciliation, the management of affairs was chiefly engrossed by the Earl of Morton, a man of very different stamp. This stern representative of the Douglasses, with all the courage, and much of the influence of his race, had also a full share of the cruelty and ambition by which they had been distinguished; so that in spite of the mild character of the new regent, the conflict soon assumed the significant appellation of the "Douglas war." The king's party still held possession of Leith, from which they could look to England for assistance by sea, while the queen's party occupied the capital: the surrounding district was trodden into barrenness beneath the iron heel of civil war, and encumbered with carcasses; and over the whole land, the partizans of either faction took their lessons from head-quarters, so that every town and village became a place of siege or spoliation. Such was the state of Scotland, when a stunning voice, that was heard over the whole uproar, made the combatants for a moment drop their weapons: this was the Massacre of Saint Bartholemew, in which the leading Protestants of France were allured to Paris, feasted by the court, and then massacred at midnight in cold blood. In the short space of a week, five hundred men of rank, among whom was the brave Admiral Coligny, by whose gallantry the country had been saved, and seventy thousand of the common people who professed the reformed faith, were butchered in France and its capital with so little compunction, that the king fired from his palace window upon the crowd, as if they had been a herd of deer driven up for his sport, while the pope and cardinals chaunted a joyful *Te Deum* at Rome when the foul deed was finished. By this event the Popish party in Scotland was brought into disrepute, and an alliance with France discountenanced; while the bonds of intercourse between the country and Protestant England were so much strengthened, that Elizabeth at last resolved to aid the king's party in reducing the castle of Edinburgh. But amidst the negotiations for this important object, the Earl of Mar sickened and died, after

having held his troublesome office of regent only thirteen months. He had tried gentle arts in vain, and he expired broken-hearted when he found them ineffectual. One, however, stepped into his room, from whom no such weakness could be expected. This was no other than the unscrupulous and unsparing Morton, equally sagacious in counsel and brave in battle, and who was ready to lop off and exterminate, where his predecessor had pitied and spared. But on the day of his election, an event occurred of immeasurably greater importance in history than the rise and fall of rival coronets: this was the death of John Knox, the illustrious reformer of Scotland, which occurred at Edinburgh on the 24th of September 1572, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

We have seen little of this eminent servant of God during the long bickerings of parties, and the fierce changes of civil conflict; and yet, such is frequently the fate of those by whom the destinies of a country are to be most beneficially and permanently affected. The still small voice is drowned amidst the roar of artillery, the gentle dew is unnoticed in the heavy descent of the thunder-shower; and yet, the one speaks of peace in heaven, and the other of prosperity on earth. The good fight of the Scottish apostle had been indeed a hard one, such as the sternest of the mail-clad warriors who crossed his path were unable to confront, or even to comprehend; but now the battle was over, and the worn-out combatant entering into his rest. The civil war in which his mission commenced had tasked his energies to the uttermost; and when his toils were crowned with success, a worse conflict awaited him from the selfishness of those who reaped the fruits, and by whom his large-hearted plans, that would have made Scotland great and glorious among the nations, were constantly opposed. He saw and measured the hitherto unknown powers that might be developed from the national character, and would have fostered it by a system of education to which Europe had hitherto been a stranger; but here he encountered an opposition from friends and adherents, compared with which that of open enemies was of little account. A premature old age came on, composed of hours of anguish and struggle; yet, although his heart was wounded to the death, his foot was still planted where his great Captain had placed him. But the crowning miseries, by which his end was no doubt accelerated, were the death of his noble friend, the Earl of Murray, and the massacre of Saint Bartholemew.

When the tidings of this last event arrived, he caused himself to be supported to the pulpit, where he preached with almost supernatural energy against the deed, and its author, whom he termed, "That cruel murderer and false traitor, the king of France." He also bade the French ambassador, Le Croc, to tell his master, that his doom was pronounced in Scotland, which was, that the Divine vengeance would never depart from him nor his house, if repentance did not ensue; but that his name should remain an execration to posterity, and none descending from him would enjoy his kingdom in peace. The ambassador requested the regent to silence this woe-denouncing preacher, and on being refused, he indignantly left the kingdom.

During the last illness of Knox, the cares of the Church, and his own ministerial duties, lay nearest to his heart; so that, calling his colleague, with the elders and deacons of the church, to his bedside, he gave them his dying charge, and bade them a last farewell. He declared to them that he had taught in sincerity the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God; and that his aim had been to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the faithful, to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, and to contend with divine threatenings against the proud and rebellious. "I profess before God, therefore, and before his holy angels," he added, "that I never made merchandise of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others; but faithfully distributed the talents intrusted to me, for the edification of the church over which I watched." He then gave them his final blessing, and they departed in tears. He desired his colleague, and David Lindsay, minister of Leith, to remain with him, and gave them a commission which showed how much the tender affections of our nature still kept possession of his heart. It was a message to Kirkaldy of Grange, once so frank and fearless in the cause of the Reformation, and whose gallant character had found so warm a sympathy in his own. They went with their commission, which was, to exhort him no longer to put trust in the rock on which he was sheltered, nor the counsels of Lethington, whom he esteemed as a demi-god; and warning him in the language of a prophet, of the disgrace and ruin that would follow his refusal. Their mission was unsuccessful; but still as death approached nearer, his yearning towards his ancient comrade seemed to increase, so that before he died he again sent Lindsay with a final expostulation. "Go to

the castle," he said, "to yon man whom ye know I have loved so dearly: Go, I pray you, and tell him that I have sent you to him yet once more, to warn him, and bid him, in the name of God, to leave that evil cause, and give over that castle. If not, he shall be brought down over the walls of it with shame, and hang against the sun." Grange was moved at the appeal, and would perhaps have yielded, but for the interposition of his evil genius, Lethington, inspired by whom, he returned a coarse refusal. "Well," said the dying man, when he heard the answer, "I have been earnest with my God anent the two men. For the one, I am sorry that so shall befall him, yet God assures me that there is mercy for his soul; for the other, I have no warrant that ever he shall be well."

Among the many who crowded to his bed-side, and listened to his parting words, was the Earl of Morton, to whom he gave this solemn and important charge: "God has beautified you with many benefits, which he has not given to every man; as he has given you riches, wisdom, and friends, and now is to prefer you to the government of this realm. And, therefore, in the name of God, I charge you to use all these benefits aright, and better in time to come, than ye have done in times bypast; first to God's glory, to the furtherance of the evangel, the maintenance of the church of God and his ministry; next, for the weal of the king, and his realm, and true subjects. If so ye shall do, God shall bless you and honour you; but if ye do not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame." The end of Morton was indeed in ignominy and shame, and he confessed upon the scaffold that he had found John Knox a true prophet. The last breath of the reformer was spent in prayers for his country, and the advancement of true religion, and in spiritual exhortations to those who visited him. He was interred on the 26th of November in the church-yard of St Giles, the funeral being attended by all the nobility in the capital; and on the body being lowered into the grave, Morton, who had himself more than once undergone the reformer's stern rebuke, pronounced this eulogium: "Here lieth a man who in his life never feared the face of man; who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour."



## CHAPTER XXX.

Castle of Edinburgh taken—Morton's unjust regency—He is compelled to resign—His return to power—Lennox and Arran become the king's favourites—Morton accused of a share in the murder of Darnley—He is tried and executed—Raid of Ruthven—Duke of Lennox banished—Earl of Arran's oppressive conduct and death—Babington's conspiracy—Queen Mary's trial and execution—Conduct of James on receiving the tidings.

A. D. 1572 to A. D. 1586.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>England.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Elizabeth.	Charles IX.	Philip II.	Maximilian II.	Gregory XIII.
	Henry III.		Rodolphus II.	Sextus V.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1574. Socinus propagates his heretical doctrines.
- 1579. The republic of Holland constituted by the union of Utrecht.
- 1579. Power of Portugal broken by the invasion of Africa, and battle of Alcazar.
- 1580. Sir Francis Drake sails round the world.
- 1582. Pope Gregory XIII. introduces New Style.
- 1584. Sir Walter Raleigh discovers Virginia.

ON the appointment of the Earl of Morton to the regency, the last but hardest task remained for him to accomplish, by which the civil war could be terminated. This was the reduction of the castle of Edinburgh, which still bravely held out for the queen; and the recent event at Stirling had shown that peace to the country was hopeless, as long as Kirkaldy and Maitland held possession of that commanding fortress. Morton therefore lost no time in pressing the siege with redoubled vigour, in which he was assisted by an English reinforcement sent by Elizabeth, consisting of fifteen hundred men under the command of Sir William Drury. It was in vain that Kirkaldy continued to make the most determined resistance. The united troops pressed to the assault with rival valour; the only well that supplied the castle was choked up with rubbish; and the garrison, exhausted with toil and privation, broke out into open mutiny, and compelled the governor to surrender. Kirkaldy having yielded to the stern emergency, was sentenced by Morton, his old companion in arms, to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the intercessions that were made in his behalf both by friends and enemies. He endured the ignominious death with that courage by which his whole life had been distinguished; and upon the scaf-

fold, expressed his comfort in the dying declaration of Knox, that still there was mercy for his soul. As for Lethington, he was not so fortunate; for scorning the disgrace of a public execution, "he died," says Sir James Melville, "after the old Romish fashion," having ended his days by poison in his prison at Leith. Thus perished the most politic Scotsman of his day, a wreck amidst the utter ruin of all his ambitious projects, and abandoned by every party whom he had by turns forsaken and deceived.

Morton having thus rid himself of the most formidable of his opponents, proceeded to gratify that avarice which so strongly marked his character. The troubles and privations of his youth had inspired him with an undue estimate of the importance of money; and being now possessed of power, and unrestrained by scruples, he showed that haste to be rich, which in a ruler is as incompatible with safety, as with innocence. He reclaimed with irritating eagerness the crown lands that had been alienated during the late commotions, debased the current coin of the realm, and caused heavy accusations to be devised against the wealthy, from the prosecution of which they were obliged to free themselves by pecuniary compositions. By these proceedings he incensed the nobility, and converted the greater part of them into enemies. His greed being still unsatisfied, he proceeded to pillage the scanty endowments of that church of which he had so long professed himself the advocate and champion, and thus provoked the hostility of the clergy, as well as that of the nobility. To this invasion of the property of the church he was now indeed no stranger, having frequently practised it during the two previous regencies. On the execution of Hamilton, the popish Archbishop of St Andrews, the office should have expired, according to the agreement which had been established at the reformation. Morton however had procured for himself a grant empowering him to dispose of the see and its revenues; and being unable, as a layman, to hold the archiepiscopal office, and draw its rents, he resolved to secure these advantages by proxy. The office so obnoxious to presbyterian parity was therefore continued; and Morton having filled it with a creature of his own, to whom he allowed a small stipend, continued to enjoy the profits of the archbishopric. This was deemed a happy device by the other nobles; and as fast as the popish prelates died out, who according to agreement received two-thirds of their benefices, the vacancies were filled with the poorest and least scrupulous of the

reformed clergy, who were content to act as the land-stewards of their lay-patrons, to whom they paid the rentals of their bishoprics, receiving a pittance in return. The expedient however was so contemptible in the eyes of the people, that these mock-prelates were called Tulchan bishops, from the practice of setting up a calf's skin stuffed with straw before a cow, to make the reluctant animal yield its milk, which was called a tulchan. Knox, who in his last illness was at St Andrews on the appointment of Douglas, not only refused to inaugurate the new archbishop, but pronounced *anathema* both on the giver and receiver of the office. He also warned the General Assembly of the foul innovation which was thus introduced, and of the courage and earnestness with which it must be opposed. They did oppose it accordingly ; but Morton, who had set up the calves, denounced the recusant ministers, and threatened that he would lay their pride, and reduce them to order. Another of the regent's sacrilegious movements, was to procure the distribution of the third part of the church revenues allotted to the reformed clergy to be assigned to his own management, under the pretext, that in this way it could be more promptly and securely paid out to the ministers : but no sooner had he obtained his wish than he began to join two, three, and sometimes four parishes together under one minister, who received only a single stipend, while the surplus flowed into his own coffers.

While Morton was thus driving onward in his career of sordid aggrandisement, he little knew, that through his tulchans, he was establishing an episcopal rule, and laying the ground for a fresh religious struggle, and a second reformation in Scotland, compared with which the toils and sufferings of the first were of trivial amount. Another effect, and one which perhaps he would have considered of still higher importance, was his own downfal. In his eagerness, he seems to have lost sight of that cautious policy by which he had risen to pre-eminence and success ; and while he offended those parties whose opposition would have been enough at any time for his overthrow, he evinced no care to fortify himself by the favour of the young king, whom he treated as a child. It was through this apparently trivial neglect that the discontented nobles resolved to effect his downfal. The Earls of Argyle and Athol, who were at deadly feud with each other, had assembled their vassals, to try their quarrel by the event of battle ; but Morton who interfered with his wonted energy, not only made them dis-

band their forces, but threatened them with confiscation. This danger to their estates soon united the rival earls against the common enemy: they repaired to Stirling Castle, and obtained access to the young king; and having ingratiated themselves into his confidence, they gave such startling representations of the regent's oppressiveness and peculations, in which they were seconded by Morton's enemies who joined them, that James, although now only twelve years old, resolved to take the government into his own hands. He announced this decision to the regent; and the latter finding the hostile coalition of the nobles too strong for him, was obliged to yield to this sentence of dismissal. He retired to Lochleven, betook himself to rural occupations, and seemed wholly absorbed in the peaceful occupation of gardening. But those who knew his talents and ambition, mistrusted this apparent calm; and his secluded habitation, which they called the Lion's Den, was regarded with trembling by the boldest of his hunters.

Events soon succeeded by which Morton felt himself compelled to realise the worst fears of his enemies. In their eagerness to crush him, they began to denude him of his hoarded wealth; and they attempted it by fines and exactions as unjust as those by which it had been amassed. This touched Morton in the tenderest point, and he roused himself for a desperate resistance. As his return to power was his only chance of safety, he sowed such feuds and dissensions among the nobles as to make his interference desirable; and on being invited to parliament, he soon procured himself to be chosen president, and the meetings to be held at Stirling, instead of Edinburgh where his enemies were strongest. Athol and Argyle, his two greatest opponents, prepared themselves to resist this arrangement; but being compelled to disband their troops through the interposition of the English ambassador, the power of Morton, although without the title of regent, became as firm as ever. But it soon appeared, that his studies in the Lion's Den had not taught him moderation; and the first use which he made of his restoration, was for the oppression of the Hamiltons. The Duke of Chastelherault was now dead; his eldest son, the Earl of Arran, who in his day had been a suitor, and a hopeful one, not only for the hand of Mary, but also for that of Elizabeth, had been long a helpless maniac; while the family estates of which he was the heir were placed under the administration of his brothers John and Claude, the first of whom was next

in succession to the royal honours of the house of Hamilton. They were now charged with being participators in the murder of Darnley, and that of the regents Murray and Lennox; and so severe was the prosecution, that the two lords were compelled to escape, the one to England, and the other to France. Their strong castles were seized, and no one remained between the rich family heritage and the spoiler, but the unfortunate and helpless Arran. His estates were forthwith confiscated, and himself placed under the charge of a brutish keeper, by whom he was treated with the utmost severity.

Soon after this event, Esme Stuart, who bore in France the title of Lord d'Aubigny, arrived from that country to Scotland, for the purpose of visiting the young king, his cousin, and claiming the title and estates of the Earl of Lennox, of whom his father was second brother. It was thought, however, that even deeper motives than these were the origin of his mission. Born a French noble, educated in the Romish faith, and a friend of the Duke of Guise, who accompanied him to the ship and held with him a long and secret interview at parting, it was surmised that his chief errand was the conversion of his royal kinsman to popery. His handsome person, elegant manners, and courtly accomplishments instantly won the admiration of the young king, who even already evinced that liking to showy favourites which distinguished him through life; and the attractive stranger was in a short time created Earl, and afterwards, Duke of Lennox. But another, and still more pernicious favourite soon rose to influence in the Scottish court. This was James Stuart, captain of the royal guard, second son of Lord Ochiltree, whose sister John Knox had married, and who pretended to a royal descent from Duke Murdoch, the regent during the confinement of James I. in England. Stuart who had been a soldier of fortune in various services, was also distinguished by those external graces that caught the eye of the youthful sovereign, and soon after he was created Earl of Arran. Of these two new favourites who were both young and unprincipled, the latter was the most daring and ambitious; but they equally incited the vanity of their inexperienced sovereign, corrupted his mind by their profligate example and discourse, and imbued him with those despotic principles of government of which England as well as Scotland was so long after to reap the bitter fruits.

With such new occupants of the royal favour, the influ-

ence of Morton was an obstacle not to be tolerated; and after much abortive plotting to procure not merely his removal but destruction, their final plan was matured. The Council being assembled, and Morton seated in his place at the board, Arran suddenly entered, and falling down on his knees before the king, he, to the surprise of all, accused the lordly president of that august assembly, as a partaker in the murder of his sovereign's father. It seemed as if the avenging spirit of Darnley could never be laid to rest! Calmly, sternly, and with a disdainful smile, Morton denied the charge; his diligence, he said, in bringing the real perpetrators to public trial and punishment, might exempt him from such a challenge. Arran still persisted, and by order of the Council, Morton was committed to custody. It was in vain that Elizabeth, on learning of the danger of such a trusty adherent, interposed in his behalf; the haughty remonstrances of her ambassador were contemptuously rejected, and Morton, who had directed so many unjust trials, was himself tried by a jury chiefly composed of his known enemies. As the direct guilt of the deed could not be brought home to him, he was condemned of being guilty "art and part" in the murder of the king's father. "Art and part!" exclaimed the indignant earl, striking the ground with his staff, as he was wont when excited: "Art and part! God knows it is not so." He acknowledged, indeed, that he had been informed of the purpose of Darnley's murder, and had concealed it; but this he did not think amounted to the legal crime of participation. His defence was overruled, and he was sentenced to the death of a traitor. During his previous imprisonment, which was protracted for five months, with the loss of his worldly goods, which had now reverted to his enemies, the love of the world seemed to have left him also. He confessed and bewailed his many crimes; he spent his time in the study of the Holy Scriptures, and religious conference with the clergymen who visited him in prison. His conduct upon the scaffold corresponded with the change that had passed upon him; and he died with the courage of a Douglas, but with the penitent humility of a Christian.

The death of Morton brought little advantage to the impoverished Church of Scotland. Although he had pillaged, he had also protected it, so that none had been allowed to defraud it but himself. But however Lennox and Arran might differ in the adjustment of their rival interests, they cordially united in hating it with a perfect hatred, and were

at one in persecuting its best adherents. While the ministers thus found that an evil administration had been followed by a worse, the nobility soon discovered that they too had made an unfortunate exchange, as the arrogance, oppressiveness, and exactions of the two favourites were even more intolerable than those of the late regent. Resistance naturally followed; and the first movement of opposition was made by the clergy, who were by far the most aggrieved party. A remonstrance was drawn up by the General Assembly, addressed to the king and council, complaining that he had been persuaded to assume a spiritual authority in the Church to which he was not entitled, and which belonged only to its ecclesiastical office-bearers, as if he could not be king of the state, without being also head of the Church. These grievances, and the evils that flowed from them, were enumerated in fourteen particulars; and at the head of the deputation which was sent to present the remonstrance to the king at Perth, was the celebrated Andrew Melville, who had arrived from Geneva in 1574, and who now worthily occupied that place in the Church which the death of John Knox had left vacant. The king was attended, among others at the council board, by his two favourites; and on the Assembly's petition being presented, Arran fiercely eyeing the deputation, exclaimed in a tone of defiance, "Who dare subscribe these treasonable articles!" "We dare," replied Melville calmly; and stepping to the table, he affixed his signature to the paper, an example that was immediately followed by his companions. Lennox and Arran were stunned into silence, and the commissioners were dismissed with a favourable answer. Here however the matter was not to rest. The nobles being equally alert in vindicating their civil rights, several of the most influential entered into a league to procure the banishment of Lennox to France, and the removal of Arran from the court. In one of his hunting expeditions, the king was invited to Ruthven Castle, belonging to the Earl of Gowrie, one of the chief conspirators; and on the morning after his arrival, they presented their petition. James hastily assented to every thing, and made eagerly for the door, but here his egress was barred by the master of Glamis; and on bursting into tears at finding himself a prisoner, the master told him, it was better that children should weep than bearded men. The king had no alternative but to grant the demands of the nobles, in consequence of which Lennox was obliged to retire to France, where he died soon after, broken hearted, while the still

more dangerous Earl of Arran was only banished from the royal presence.

After this deed, commonly called the Raid of Ruthven, from the name of the castle in which it had been perpetrated, the confederated lords imagining from the king's concessions that all was secure, began to relax in their watchfulness over the royal captive. But James had already acquired a taste for that king-craft by which his whole life was afterwards characterised, and he watched his opportunity so well, that he soon effected his escape from Falkland, and reached the castle of St Andrews. Even there, too, when he found himself in complete possession of liberty, he proclaimed an amnesty to his late captors, and promised to bury all in oblivion. Having thus thrown them off their guard, he recalled the worthless Arran to court, and as soon as the king and favourite had united their counsels, the insurgent lords were suddenly summoned to surrender themselves for trial, on pain of being proceeded against as rebels. Depending as they had done upon the king's promises, they were confounded at the summons; and on their refusal, some were banished to Ireland, and others put in ward. Having thus shattered the coalition by so infamous a stroke, Arran, possessing more than ever the confidence of the fickle king, proceeded in his old warfare against the church, and especially against those ministers who had so intrepidly opposed his ecclesiastical usurpations. Of these, the great object of his hatred was Andrew Melville, and him he procured to be accused of having uttered words in one of his sermons that sounded like treason. Melville cleared himself from the charge; but being still vexatiously prosecuted upon the subject, he declined the authority of the civil court in a question that concerned the discharge of his spiritual duties, and referred himself to the judicature of the church. Although by so doing he only acted in conformity to those laws of the realm by which the rights of the church had been guaranteed, his declension of the civil authority was considered an additional act of treason, for which he was sentenced to be imprisoned in the castle of Blackness. Knowing that this was but a step to the scaffold, the bold reformer eluded his captors, and fled to England. Arran's next victim was the Earl of Gowrie, who was tried for his conspicuous share in the Raid of Ruthven, condemned as a traitor, and beheaded. Other measures of a similar kind followed, by which the best of the clergy were driven into England, the bishops established in their usurpations, and



the nobility vexed with false or frivolous charges which were followed by fine and confiscation.

It was soon evident that all this violence had reached the point which indicates a reaction. The worthless oppressor had attained that height which, as history has clearly shown, occasions the downfall of a court favourite, either by those equals above whom he has raised himself, or by the sovereign whose power and grandeur he is felt to rival. Such indeed was Arran's regal style of living, that in repairing to the borders to meet an ambassador of the queen of England, he was attended by a cavalcade of five thousand horse, while his habitual expenditure, which corresponded with such a retinue, was drained from the estates of the noblest of Scotland, or wrung from the impoverished commons. His power also appeared too firmly rooted to be shaken ; for the principal castles of Scotland, those of Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness, were in the keeping of his creatures. He was already plotting the assassination of those lords who had been banished to England for their share in the Raid of Ruthven, when being aware of his purposes, they resolved to anticipate him. Accordingly Angus, Mar, and Glamis, joined by the Hamiltons, and under the connivance of Elizabeth, entered Scotland, and were quickly joined by their numerous allies and retainers. At the head of eight thousand armed men they rapidly advanced to Stirling, where James and his favourite were living in security. The king was soon in their hands, and Arran, who only saved himself by a hasty flight, was proclaimed traitor. Deprived of his title and ill-gotten wealth, he lurked in obscurity under his original title of Captain Stuart, until he came to a miserable end. A few years after his downfall, he was encountered and slain by James Douglas of Parkhead ; and his body, which was laid in an open church in the neighbourhood, was found half devoured by dogs and swine before it was committed to the grave.

During these important events by which the whole reign of James had hitherto been a scene of incessant change and turmoil, the unfortunate Mary was still a prisoner in England. Her son, who in his early years possessed no power to use in her behalf, had no sooner reached manhood, than he showed the utmost indifference to her bondage : it is even to be feared that he secretly rejoiced in it, as the only pledge of his own undisturbed possession of the throne. As for the unfortunate captive, she had been moved from place to place, and transferred from keeper to keeper ; and still as the

chances of her deliverance increased, the severity of her restraint was augmented. And these chances were neither few nor unpromising. The intrigues upon the continent for the restoration of popery still continued, and were gladly shared in by the papists both of England and Scotland; and as the restoration of Mary to her place in the latter country, and her claims to the English throne, were regarded as the sure pledge of success to their cause, many a plan was devised not only for her enfranchisement, but even the deposition or assassination of her unjust oppressor. Thus it may be questioned whether the situation of Elizabeth herself was not more to be pitied. She held in her hands a captive whom it was equally dangerous to retain or set free; and her position was involved in that torture of suspense where the winner is utterly helpless, and must watch and wait for some fortunate event to deliver him from his difficulty. One circumstance at last occurred, which Elizabeth eagerly secured as the only chance of extrication.

Among the many iniquitous plans of the papists for the destruction of the queen of England, was one devised by the jesuits of the English seminary at Rheims, who represented the assassination of Elizabeth as a holy duty. Their ready instrument on this occasion was Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of large fortune in Derbyshire, who allured others into the conspiracy, and commenced a correspondence with the imprisoned Queen of Scots, which she gladly encouraged as the means of deliverance. But Babington was too eager for martyrdom to be a safe or successful plotter: an unfaithful accomplice betrayed his movements to the English ministers, who allowed the conspiracy to go onward until Mary was sufficiently implicated; and when it had reached the point of condemnation the conspirators were arrested, and their papers secured. On their trial, they betrayed their whole proceedings by mutually inculpating each other, and to the number of fourteen were sent to the scaffold.

The revelations of these men having involved the Scottish queen, the great question now at issue was, in what manner to proceed with her. As an independent sovereign, she owed no allegiance to Elizabeth; as a prisoner iniquitously confined, she was justified in the use of hostile means to effect her freedom. But these considerations had little weight with the majority of the English ministers. They knew that if she regained her liberty, not only the throne of their mistress, but their own heads would be in peril,

and accordingly they were urgent for her trial. Elizabeth yielded to their importunity, and the indignant queen of France and Scotland was summoned to plead as a culprit before a foreign judicature. Mary replied with dignity and justice to those who brought the startling message. She alleged that she was a sovereign queen, and therefore no subject of the laws of England; that she had no legal counsel to plead her cause; and above all, that she was guiltless of conspiring Elizabeth's death, as she had been kept in ignorance of this ulterior aim in Babington's conspiracy. But all her objections were overruled, and she was persuaded to yield, from the assurance that this was the only mode of clearing her innocence, and finally regaining her liberty—the same deceitful argument by which she had been induced to stand an assize at York and Westminster, where Elizabeth was the judge, and her own subjects the accusers.

The important trial of Mary commenced at Fotheringay Castle on the fourteenth of October 1585: the charges against her were, that she had plotted the death of the queen of England, conspired against the safety of the realm, and attempted the overthrow of the protestant religion. Unprovided with professional advisers, and opposed by the legal talent and skill of England, never more distinguished than at this period, Mary made an able defence. Although she had received and answered certain letters of Babington connected with the subject of her own deliverance, she denied all connection with the conspiracy against her cousin's life, and replied to every charge brought against her that was grounded upon the confessions of the conspirators and her own correspondence. But all her eloquence and arguments were in vain. She was declared guilty by a court that had no right to try her, and condemned to die by those laws from which she had never enjoyed protection. It was now Elizabeth's turn to adopt that solemn mockery which had been so successfully practised by her legal functionaries. She wavered in her resolution long after the death-sentence was pronounced: she showed that she had the will, but not the courage to strike. The execution of a sovereign, a kinswoman, and a stranger, who had fled to her in the hour of need, and been received with assurances of protection—how would contemporary potentates endure it? how would history record the deed to future ages? Her proud heart writhed under the anguish of irresolution, and at length she compelled herself to sign the fatal warrant.

Nothing in the whole life of Mary became her so well as

her conduct in her last moments. She calmly received the intimation of her doom, as one to whom life had few attractions, and who was not afraid to die. When the sentence was announced to her, she replied, "Death is to me most welcome: that soul is not worthy of the joys of heaven, that cannot look forward to the stroke of the executioner without dismay." On the scaffold, which was erected in the hall of the castle of Fotheringay where the trial had been held, she displayed the same magnanimity. She gently silenced the Dean of Peterborough, who endeavoured in a formal discourse to refute her religious errors, and convert her to the Protestant faith; and she uttered her last prayers apart in the Latin tongue. All being ready for the final stroke, she assisted with her own hands in disrobing for execution, soothed her weeping maidens in attendance and bade them a last farewell; and laying her head upon the block, with the parting exclamation, "Into thy hands I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth," her head was separated from her body by two strokes of the executioner. Thus died Mary in the forty-fifth year of her age, after nineteen years of unjust captivity. Such were her beauty, accomplishments, and ingratiating manners, and the promise of her high estate contrasted with her downfall and tragic end, that her crimes were denied or overlooked; and even at the present day, historians advocate her cause with as much enthusiasm, as if she had lived and suffered among us. In vindicating her memory also, they show themselves too eager to condemn John Knox by whom her faults were so justly reprobated, and those upright reformers who suffered so severely from their effects.

The behaviour of James on receiving tidings of his mother's death, was in accordance with that selfishness and coldness of heart which formed the chief elements of his character. When he heard of her trial, and that her execution had been resolved, instead of sending a spirited remonstrance, and mustering an army to make it good, he contented himself with recalling his ambassador from the English court, and ordering prayers to be offered up for her in the churches. The execution was announced to him by Elizabeth herself in a letter full of dissimulation, protesting that such an extremity had been far from her purpose, and that it had been effected without her knowledge or consent—and James who had his own part of sorrow to act in the tragedy, would neither see the messenger, nor receive the letter. He even talked roundly of leaguings himself with France and

Spain, invading England, and driving Elizabeth from a throne which she had polluted with the blood of a sister sovereign. Such indeed would have been the attempt at least of his heroic ancestors; but the queen of England well knew, that he had neither the spirit of James of Flodden, nor yet of his unfortunate grandfather of Solway Moss. She therefore allowed the storm of words to vent itself, and then reminded him of his chance of succession to the crown of England, which such an intemperate outbreak would be sure to endanger. James listened, was pacified, and threatened no longer. If any apology can be offered for such heartless conduct, perhaps it is chiefly to be found in the fact, that it was shown towards a mother whom he had never seen, and whom he had been taught to regard as an accomplice in the murder of his father.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

Character of James VI.—His marriage—Troubled state of Scotland—Treachery of the Popish nobles—Tumult in Edinburgh—The Gowrie conspiracy—Death of Elizabeth—Accession of James to the throne of England.

A. D. 1586 to A. D. 1603.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry III.	Philip II.	Rodolphus II.	Sextus V.
Henry IV.	Philip III.		Urban VII.
			Gregory XIV.
			Innocent IX.
			Clement VIII.

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1588. Spanish Armada destroyed.
- 1590. Popish league in France against the Protestants destroyed at the battle of Ivry.
- 1591. The University of Dublin erected.
- 1594. Incorporation of the Bank of England.
- 1598. Edict of Nantes established, by which Protestantism was tolerated in France.
- 1600. The English East India Company established.

JAMES having now attained the age of twenty-one, exhibited the full development of that singular character which alternately excited the wonder and mirth of his contemporaries, and secured for him the contempt of history. Con-

stitutionally timid, he trembled at shadows, while his language and menaces were those of a hero. Devoted from his boyhood to study and learned research, he had amassed from the philosophers of antiquity, from the fathers of the early Christian church, and from the learned theologians of the reformation, a store of wise maxims, which he vented with such fluency, that they seemed the original promptings of his own mind, and gained him a character for wisdom to which his deeds were a continual contradiction. Considering himself a second Solomon, he imagined himself equal not only to the entire management of the state, but of the church also, with the spiritual independence of which he was constantly intermeddling; and he enjoyed in a warm controversy with a deputation of clergymen, the same exciting pleasure which his ancestors had sought in the tournament or the battle-field. His science of royal government, or as he called it, king-craft, in which he reckoned himself perfect, was the resource of a weak and abject mind; for it consisted of low trickery and deception, and expedients for the passing hour, so that he scrupled at no falsehood however base, by which an advantage might be gained or an enemy circumvented. In this manner, he had already succeeded in duping both nobles and clergy, who were still unsuspecting of such unkingly acts, while he proceeded to the realization of his favourite theory of absolute power. In these characteristics might be traced the effect of circumstances upon a mind naturally unamiable and weak. His severe scholastic education made him a pedant, and the trying difficulties of his situation tempted him to become a deceiver.

As it was now reckoned full time that James should select for himself a royal partner, his choice fell upon Anne, second daughter of Frederick king of Denmark; and on the marriage preliminaries being satisfactorily adjusted by the Scottish ambassadors at the Danish court, the bride set sail for Scotland. Distress of weather however drove her to the coast of Norway, where the fleet was so shattered, that it was considered unsafe to resume the voyage until the ensuing summer. On this occasion, James was elevated into one of those rare fits of courage by which his timid life was checkered, so that in spite of the dangers of a winter's voyage, and all the witches of Scotland and Norway, whom he firmly believed to be leagued against him, he resolved to cross the sea in quest of his bride, and be married at the place of her sojourning. He accordingly appointed a re-

gency for the management of affairs during his absence; and as he was for the present on terms of amity with the church, one of the most distinguished of its ministers, Mr Robert Bruce, had a share in the temporary administration. He reached Norway in safety, where the royal union was solemnised, after which he proceeded to Copenhagen, where the whole winter was spent in feasting and merriment. During his absence, so complete was the tranquillity which prevailed in Scotland, that the country had not enjoyed such rest for many years,—a circumstance which James, on his return, attributed to the clergy, and especially Robert Bruce, to whom he declared himself indebted to the value of a quarter of his little kingdom. This was the man whom James afterwards hunted with the most relentless persecution. A still more vehement outburst of gratitude escaped from the king at the first General Assembly that met after his return from Denmark. He praised God that he was born in such a time as the time of the light of the gospel, and to such a place as to be king in such a kirk, the sincerest kirk in the world. “The kirk of Geneva,” he added, “keepeth Pasche and Yule; what have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, it is an evil said mass in English, wanting nothing but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly.” Such was the joy which this speech occasioned, that the historian tells us, “there was nothing but loud praising of God, and praying for the king, for a quarter of an hour.”

For several years after the royal marriage, few events occurred of such a public nature as to demand particular notice. A war with England was now out of the question; for Elizabeth, persevering in those diplomatic arts by which her father had so successfully repressed the Scots, contrived to balance hostile parties, and sow dissensions among the nobles, so that they were too much occupied in contests with each other, to unite for a southern invasion. And these feuds were neither few nor bloodless. Within the court there was fierce hostility between the queen, a vain and frivolous woman, and Chancellor Maitland, the younger brother of the celebrated Maitland of Lethington. The Duke of Lennox, son to the early court favourite, and Lord Hamilton, were at deadly feud with each other, upon

their respective claims to the royal succession, as if the throne had been already vacant. The Earl of Huntley, inheriting his father's feuds as well as his title and estates, was at war with the Earl of Murray, son of the good regent, whom he basely procured to be murdered, not without the concurrence, as it was strongly suspected, of the king himself. In another direction, the Earl of Argyle, Lord Ochiltree, and their allies, were banded against Chancellor Maitland, the Humes, and the Flemings. Thus, through the halls of the palace and the streets of the capital, from the walls of Edinburgh to the most remote Highland strath, there was intrigue, conflict, and slaughter, in which hereditary feud, personal wrong, and political animosity, supplied never-failing materials. It seemed, indeed, as if Scotland was never to be at peace; and that when foreign war had ended, its place was to be supplied by the greater evils of internal conflict. And while James exerted his feeble king-craft to the uttermost, to reconcile, or merely to balance the dangerous quarrels of those contentious chiefs, not only his own peace was embittered, but his life endangered, by the treasonable practices of one of his own kinsmen. This was Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, who was accused of having conspired the death of the king, for which he was outlawed; but being strong in his allies and retainers, as well as formidable by his daring intrigues, he was ever attempting to waylay James in his journeys, or surprise him in his palace, from the ambitious hope of obtaining the chief influence in the kingdom, by holding in secure custody the person of his sovereign.

But of all the political movements of this period, the most dangerous both to the ruler and the country at large, arose from the intrigues of the popish nobility to restore the ascendancy of their proscribed faith. Although the protestant religion was now so completely established, yet the antagonistic creed still showed a formidable front, and could depend upon all the resources of the northern parts of the kingdom; while subtle jesuits from abroad glided silently through the land undetected, confirming the unstable, entrapping the unwary, and conducting treasonable correspondences between the malcontents and those foreign princes to whom they applied for aid. At the head of this most dangerous conspiracy were the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Angus. At the time of the threatened invasion of England by the Spanish Armada, they were in close correspondence with Philip II. of Spain, with whom, on receiving



aid in men and money, they were to co-operate, by crossing the border at the head of a Scottish army simultaneously with the landing of the Spanish forces; and even when the Armada was wrecked, they still continued their correspondence with the Spanish court, for the restoration of popery in Scotland. In this dangerous emergency, the kirk rallied round the king; a minister intercepted the correspondence of the lords with Spain; and on this discovery of their guilt, they were proclaimed traitors. James, however, instead of prosecuting them with that severity which their crime deserved, and the safety of the country required, left them in possession of their estates and influence, so that in 1594 they were able to attack and utterly discomfit the Earl of Argyle, who advanced against them at the head of eight thousand men. This disaster, and the urgent remonstrances of the kirk, roused the timid king to exertion: he marched against the Earl of Huntley, the chief of the traitorous coalition, whose splendid castle, or rather palace, of Strathbogie he razed to the ground, and followed his success so vigorously, that the rebel lords were obliged to shelter themselves in voluntary banishment. But after this unwonted display of energy, the king relapsed into his usual good-humoured indolence, of which the rebels were not slow to take advantage. Huntley accordingly returned to Scotland, and every thing soon indicated that James was about to receive the exiles into favour. His selfish and short-sighted king-craft was the cause of this dangerous toleration. As Elizabeth was declining into the infirmities of old age, his own succession to the throne of England daily appeared not only nearer but more certain; and to secure the golden prize to which his view had been directed from boyhood, he entered into negotiations not only with the papists of Scotland and England, but with the courts of France, Spain, and Italy, holding out to them professions that made his protestantism be called in question, and granting concessions at which every protestant felt just alarm.

All this dishonest intriguing on the part of James necessarily widened the breach between him and the kirk, and this at a season, too, when one mass was still as dangerous as the hostile landing of ten thousand armed Frenchmen. It was no time for the trumpet to give an uncertain sound, and a bold alarm was uttered by David Black, minister of St Andrews. He seems, however, to have exceeded his commission; for he was accused of having declared in a sermon, that the queen of England was an atheist; that

the religion professed in her kingdom was a vain show, and was about to be set up in Scotland also ; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan was the director both of court and council. For these and other rash declarations, he was cited before the privy council ; but as it was evident from the character of his trial, that the king merely used it as a pretext for extinguishing the liberties of the church at large, the ministers took the alarm, and rallied round their persecuted brother, as the standard-bearer of their cause. They advised him to decline the authority of the privy council, as being incompetent to judge in the first instance upon an offence committed in the pulpit. His declinature was sent accordingly, backed by the subscription of three hundred ministers ; and as this was considered a fresh act of treason, he was sentenced to be warded beyond the Tay, until the royal will had decided upon his farther punishment.

While the hearts of men were excited to wrath or terror by events in which the very existence of their church was at stake, the 17th of December arrived, a date that haunted the timid memory of James long after he had reached England in safety. A rumour was spread abroad, that the Earl of Huntley had arrived in Edinburgh, and been graciously received by the king ; which was followed by another, originated by the courtiers for their own selfish ends, that the papists intended to commence a massacre of the protestants. A general consternation prevailed : a deputation was sent from the ministers to the king, who was then in the Tolbooth ; but his majesty, instead of calming their fears, received the remonstrance with indignation. During this unpromising proceeding, a double report was suddenly started ; one at the Tolbooth, that the town had risen in arms against the king and court ; and another at the East Kirk, where the chief protestants were assembled, that their ministers were in peril of their lives at the Tolbooth, and calling on those within to arm, and hurry to the rescue. Instantly the streets were in an uproar, and both parties being filled with causeless alarm, were ready to rush at each other in self-defence, when the ministers by their earnest exertions quelled the tumult, so that James was able to walk in safety and undisturbed to Holyrood-house, escorted by the provost and magistrates. But instead of slighting this transient ebullition, which was no novelty in Scotland, or apprehending those mischievous whisperers by whom it had been raised, James eagerly laid hold of it as an oppor-

tunity for humbling the church, and reducing it to submission. Accordingly, on the following morning he hurried from Edinburgh as if his life had been in danger, sheltered himself in the palace of Linlithgow, and proceeded to issue fierce proclamations against the capital, characterising the tumult as a cruel and barbarous attempt for his destruction raised by the ministers and barons, and commanding that the former should be forthwith imprisoned in the castle. A few days after, he returned at the head of a strong array, threatening to raze Edinburgh to the ground, and sow it with salt in token of perpetual desolation. In this emergency, the ministers retired into voluntary exile, the citizens humbled themselves in abject submission, and James having thus obtained the desired ascendancy, proceeded in his favourite purpose. He at length procured from the General Assembly, that fourteen of their number should be elected as a permanent committee, to confer with him upon the settlement of ecclesiastical difficulties, and the management of the affairs of the church. Having obtained these ecclesiastical coadjutors, he had thus within his influence an episcopal board whose decisions he might control at pleasure, and through which he hoped to destroy the principle of presbyterian parity, and establish prelacy in its stead. His next and crowning measure was to have the church represented in parliament, and this he also accomplished; so that such as he was pleased to nominate as bishops, composed the Third estate of the kingdom, and were entitled to their full share of legislation as in the former days of popery.

While James was thus waging his favourite warfare, and striving for victory over presbyteries and assemblies, an incident occurred, than which nothing has more completely baffled the researches of the historian. This was the Gowrie conspiracy, the most incomprehensible event of that great class to which it belongs, the particulars of which, resting as they do upon the interested testimony of the king alone, are confused, and in many cases contradictory and absurd. William, Earl of Gowrie, from whom the alleged plot takes its name, was the grandson of Lord Ruthven, the chief actor in the assassination of Rizzio, and son of him who had been the principal leader and sufferer in the Raid of Ruthven. The family estates, which on the latter occasion had been forfeited, were afterwards restored; and the young earl, who had finished his studies at the university of Padua, where his learning and accomplishments

were so distinguished that he was appointed its rector, returned to his native country in 1600, at the early age of twenty-one. On his arrival, he found himself the member of a court where his graceful manners and literary acquirements exposed him to envy; his large estates were coveted by those whom his return disappointed; and with his paternal lands he also received, however unwillingly, that large amount of family feuds which in those days constituted an essential part of every noble Scottish inheritance. In addition to these circumstances, which of themselves were sufficient to procure his ruin, he was the devoted friend of the church, by the ministers of which he was regarded with enthusiastic affection, and adverse to the intrigues against its liberties on the part of James, who regarded the able opposition of the young noble with deep resentment. It was not therefore to be expected that he should enjoy amidst the gloomy streets of Edinburgh, or the cold barren hills of Scotland, the same classical enjoyment and repose that had nursed his youth amidst the time-honoured scenes of Italy. Little opportunity, however, was allowed him to try the hopeless experiment. Only five short months after his return, he was a bleeding corpse on the threshold of his own hall, a dishonoured name blotted out from the rolls of Scotland's nobility.

The circumstances that led to this tragical event were the following. On the morning of the 5th of August (1600), the king had left the palace of Falkland, to enjoy his favourite recreation of hunting in the park, when Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of the earl, rode up to his side, and with an air of mystery, informed him that he had arrested a suspicious personage in the neighbourhood of Perth, carrying a pot full of foreign gold pieces under his cloak. He added, that he had confined this man with his treasure in a safe apartment in Gowrie House, unknown even to his brother; and he was anxious that the king should repair with him privately to Perth, to investigate the nature of the stranger's mission by a personal examination. James at first demurred; but his curiosity having got the better of his fears, he, at the close of the hunt, accompanied young Ruthven at full gallop, followed by the Duke of Lennox, the Earl of Mar, and about twelve or fifteen persons of his train. On entering Gowrie House, he was hospitably received by the earl; and after dinner, Alexander Ruthven whispered him to follow unattended, which the king did, and was led through several apart-

ments, the doors of which his guide successively locked behind them, until they came to a small room indicated as the place of the prisoner's confinement. But here, James found no captive bound hand and foot, as he had expected : instead of this, he saw a man clothed in complete armour and furnished with sword and dagger. The king started at the sight ; but Ruthven instantly locked the door, snatched the dagger from the belt of the armed man, and presenting it to the breast of James, declared he was now his captive, and swore with many terrible oaths that he would stab him, if he uttered one word, or attempted to look out of the window ; adding, that this was a just retribution for the murder of his father, whom James had unjustly executed. The king remonstrated, and the youth seemed to relent : he went out, as he said to bring his brother, after again warning his royal prisoner against either outcry or movement during his absence. At his departure, the armed man, who during the whole altercation had stood motionless, as if the event had taken him by surprise, was persuaded to open the window ; but scarcely had he done this, when Alexander Ruthven hastily re-entered, and telling the king that no alternative remained, that he must die, proceeded to bind his hands with a cord. James instantly commenced a desperate struggle for life, the man in armour fled, and in the desperate unwitnessed wrestle of the pair, the king dragged his assailant to the open window, and cried in a half-strangled voice, " Treason ! help, Earl of Mar ! I am murdered ! " The attendants who were in the garden below, heard the cry, and saw a hand grasping the king's throat with violence. They instantly rushed up the great stair-case to the hall-door, but finding it locked, they made desperate efforts to burst it open. During this momentous delay, John Ramsay, one of the royal attendants, remembered a private stair-case which he ascended, and bursting open a door where he heard the noise of struggling, was instantly between the combatants. He closed with young Ruthven, whom he desperately wounded with two strokes of his dagger, and the youth, on staggering from the room, was encountered on the threshold by two others of the king's attendants, who forthwith despatched him. As he expired, his dying exclamation was, " Alas, I had not the blame of it ! "

James was thus rescued in a moment from death or captivity, and surrounded by three bold followers. But the danger was not yet ended. Gowrie himself, who on hurrying

to the tumult, had stumbled over the dead body of his brother, now rushed into the room, with a rapier in each hand, and followed by seven armed attendants, vowing a terrible revenge. The king's servants thrusting their master into the neighbouring apartment, instantly closed in unequal conflict, and would soon have been overpowered, when one of them suddenly exclaimed that the king was slain. At this, Gowrie dropped the points of his weapons, as if horror-struck; and while he stood thus unguarded, he was run through the body, upon which his attendants fled. At this moment, Lennox, Mar, and their followers having forced the main entrance, thronged into the apartment, where they found the dead body of Gowrie, and the king standing beside it breathless and exhausted, but still unhurt. He then knelt down accompanied by all present, and solemnly returned thanks to God for his wonderful deliverance.

A wild cry and uproar were now heard in the street beneath. The tidings had taken wing through Perth that Gowrie its provost had been basely murdered by the king; and as he was beloved by the citizens, they rushed tumultuously to the stately house in which the deed had been perpetrated. "Come down!" they shouted; "come down thou son of Signor Davie, thou hast slain a better man than thyself!" Such was their fury, that the dwelling might have been forced by a sudden assault, and the king and his retinue torn in pieces, had not James ordered the magistrates to be admitted, to whom he rehearsed the whole particulars. They carried the tidings to the crowd without, and prevailed upon them to disperse, so that the king returned in safety to Falkland, and afterwards passed over to Edinburgh.

Such are the principal circumstances of this strange event, as related by James himself, and corroborated by his courtiers. It is perplexing, mysterious, unintelligible; and yet they alone are the narrators, for the earl and his brother, who might have given a counter-statement, were no longer alive to contradict them. Many however, not only of the clergy, with whom the character of Gowrie stood deservedly high, but also of the common people, refused to give full credence to the story. Some did not even hesitate to affirm, that the whole was a plot devised from the beginning, among the enemies of the Gowrie family, in which the king was either their accomplice or their tool. And where was the man in armour who had been present during the struggle between James and

Alexander Ruthven, and whose testimony might in some measure have been conclusive on the subject? He had stolen away, it was answered, in the heat of the scuffle, and could no longer be identified. After the charge had been shifted from one person to another, at length, Andrew Henderson, the Earl of Gowrie's chamberlain, upon a full assurance of pardon, confessed himself to have been the man; but his account, when examined, was so confused and contradictory, that it threw no further light upon the subject. Still, if severity of punishment could have proved the existence of a crime, there was no lack of this kind of proof in the relentless proceedings of James. Robert Bruce, and those ministers who demurred at the royal statement, were banished from Edinburgh, and interdicted from preaching. The bodies of the two brothers were hanged and quartered, and their heads set upon the top of the prison of Edinburgh, while the family estates were forfeited, the name of Ruthven abolished, and all of that hated race proclaimed to be for ever incapable of holding place or inheritance in Scotland. Even on the night of the slaughter also, an attempt was made to seize two younger brothers of the earl, still children, living with their mother at Dunkeld, as if they too had deserved to be sacrificed to the royal vengeance; but happily they escaped with their tutor in disguise to England, where they found both shelter and sympathy.

After the suppression of the Gowrie conspiracy, the national feeling relapsed once more into quiescence, and James, unoccupied with other matters, resumed his intrigues against the church, and his learned altercations with its ministers. But in 1603 an event occurred of more importance to Scotland than all the feuds and factions by which it had been agitated for centuries. This was the death of Elizabeth, and the consequent union of the two crowns of the rival kingdoms of Britain in the person of James VI. of Scotland. The English queen, who had now attained her seventieth year, had for some time been exhibiting the decay and sufferings of old age, which were aggravated by the death of her gallant young favourite, the Earl of Essex, whom she had caused to be executed; the troubles occasioned by the Irish wars, and the anxiety with which she watched the affairs of Scotland, and the character of its sovereign. Her last days were also embittered by the ingratitude of her courtiers, who after a life of slavish homage, began to discover that she was merely a "bright occidental star," and longed for the rising of James "as of the sun in

his strength." Her lion-heart was broken at last: for days she refused all nourishment, and expressed her weariness of life, and desire to die. Even the voice of adulation, which hitherto had constituted the sweet harmony of her existence, jarred harshly upon her exhausted spirit; so that when the Archbishop of Canterbury attending at her death-bed, congratulated her on the blessings which her reign had conferred upon Europe, and her glorious defence of the protestant faith, she checked him sharply, with the declaration, that she had already listened to flattery too long. She joined fervently however in his prayers, and for two days before her death, when speech had departed, she was frequently seen raising her eyes and her hands to heaven. She was now importuned to nominate her successor, a subject upon which she had always maintained a mysterious silence; but she was no longer able to give an audible reply. Even during the departing struggle, her chief courtiers dinned the name of the king of Scots into her ears,—and they alleged that in reply, she closed her hands over her head in the form of a crown, thus intimating that he alone was worthy to succeed. But his right of descent was too clear, and his way had been prepared too carefully, to leave the question in doubt, or commit it to the uncertainties of a death-bed. All were on tiptoe to be first in communicating the tidings to her successor, and securing the golden fee of royal favour; but Sir Robert Carey, a near relation of the queen, was the happy competitor. As the palace doors were locked to prevent all egress, Sir Robert's sister plucked a well-known ring from the finger of her mistress as soon as she had breathed her last, and threw it to him from a window; and armed with this token, he vaulted into the saddle, and spurred with such headlong speed, that although the queen died at Richmond on Thursday morning at three o'clock, he alighted at the gate of Holyrood on Saturday evening. Being ushered to the bed-side of James, who had retired to rest, he announced the demise of Elizabeth, showed the ring for a token, and hailed his Majesty as now the unquestioned monarch of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland.

This event, so long expected and so ardently desired, was kept private until the third day, on which a deputation of noblemen from the Privy Council of England arrived in Edinburgh, with the official intimation of Elizabeth's death, the proclamation of his own accession in the southern metropolis, and the eagerness of all classes of people to wel-



come his arrival. All was triumph in Scotland at the tidings. The courtiers already revelled in the hopes of rich acres beyond the Tweed, no longer to be held by the precarious tenure of the sword, but the permanence of a royal charter; and amidst the refurbishing of faded wardrobes, and the buckling of spurs, the king made the necessary arrangements for the government of his ancient realm, and took his departure. On the 5th of April, he commenced his journey; but so numerous were the intervals of hunting and feasting by the way, that he was a month in passing from Berwick to London, which he entered on the seventh of May. During the whole of this progress nothing could exceed the ardour of his new subjects, who received him not merely as if he had been their native born sovereign, but Alfred himself risen from the dead.

Such were the circumstances under which the two kingdoms, after a fierce war of centuries, were united under one sovereign, and that too with a cordiality of which it would be hard to say on what side it was the strongest. Often had the attempt to accomplish such a union been made by violence, and only ended in loss and discomfiture, so that however necessary or desirable it might be reckoned, it had gradually assumed more and more the appearance of an impossibility. But Providence had now effected that happy event, and in a way that transcended the devices of human wisdom. It is also worthy of remark, that the present junction was but the preparative to something better still. Cordial although the reconciliation was, the two countries were not fitted as yet for a complete national interfusion; and therefore, although they had but one king, they still possessed their separate parliaments, with their respective institutions and interests. Hence, the accession of the Scottish king to the throne of England was an approximation, rather than a union of the two countries. It was, however, the most effectual means by which the whole island was subsequently to be resolved into one kingdom, and the two hostile nations into one people.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

Reception of James in England—Hampton Court controversy—Gunpowder Plot—Proceedings of James to establish Episcopacy in Scotland—His journey thither for the purpose—Its unsuccessful termination—the articles of Perth—Persecution by the Bishops—Death of James.

A. D. 1603 to A. D. 1625.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Henry IV.	Philip III.	Rodolphus II.	Clement VIII.
Louis XIII.	Philip IV.	Mathias.	Leo XI.
			Paul V.
			Gregory XV.
			Urban VIII.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1606. English laws and a House of Commons established in Ireland.
- 1610. Henry IV. of France murdered by Ravallac.
- 1610. Hudson's Bay discovered.
- 1614. Logarithms invented by Napier of Merchiston.
- 1616. Death of Shakspeare.
- 1619. Dr Harvey discovers the circulation of the blood.
- 1620. Puritans emigrate to New England.

FROM the period of the accession of James to the English throne, the history of Scotland necessarily becomes more brief. From a principal, the country had now sunk into an auxiliary, so that the important public events in which it was thenceforth engaged, were merely in subservience to the movements of that greater country of which Scotland was now considered to constitute only a part. What remains of Scottish affairs, therefore, is chiefly of an ecclesiastical character, and consists of the attempts of James and his successors to subvert the principles of the national church, and impose upon it the form and principles of Episcopacy.

On the arrival of James in England, every thing promised a reign of peace and happiness. Even during his progress to the capital, petitions were showered upon him, which, as if eager to commence the career of an English sovereign, he profusely granted; his praises were sung in whole volumes of classical poetry, which were laid at his feet by the University of Cambridge; and such was his readiness in conferring a high distinction which Elizabeth had confined to her noblest subjects, that on his journey,

he bestowed the honour of knighthood upon two hundred and thirty-seven persons. On reaching London, he seemed eager to indemnify himself for the homely fare of Holyrood, by luxurious banquets, and to teach his new subjects the happy change they had undergone, by speaking disparagingly of the character and government of his predecessor. But a short time sufficed to make them suspect that this advantage was not quite so certain. He brought with him six favourites from Scotland, to whom he gave places in the English privy council ; and such was the influx of needy retainers from the north, and the favour with which they were received, that the pride of the natives was deeply wounded. But these advantages, which were confined to the favoured, were far from benefiting the Scottish nation at large. On the contrary, as London was now considered the proper home of the northern nobility, they squandered there the rentals of their estates in vain attempts to equal the magnificence of their southern rivals, while at home, their retainers were bereaved of their wonted subsistence, and agriculture was deprived of its due encouragement. James, indeed, was eager to equalise the advantages, by a union of the two kingdoms ; but to this the English and the Scots were alike opposed. Several preparatory measures, however, were introduced, by which its accomplishment was afterwards facilitated. In his royal title, he caused the distinctive names of the two countries to be omitted, so that he was addressed as King of Great Britain ; the border garrisons were disbanded, and the iron gates of the forts and castles converted into ploughshares ; and all persons born in the island since the death of Queen Elizabeth, were declared British subjects, and entitled to all the privileges of either kingdom.

James had not long occupied the new throne, when he found that his passion for ecclesiastical controversy was likely to be gratified to the full. This arose from the English Puritans, a very powerful body, and daily growing in strength, who were opposed to the Popish ceremonies which Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had retained in the service of the church, and who had never ceased to labour for their abrogation. Although these sovereigns had been deaf to their entreaties, the Puritans hoped for better things from James. Educated in the Scottish Church, they trusted he would sympathise in their scruples, and accordingly, in his progress to London, they presented to him their memorial, called the Millenary Petition, from the

number of names attached to it, being subscribed by eight hundred ministers. The royal polemic eagerly embraced this opportunity of parading his theological knowledge before his new subjects; and on the following year a conference was appointed to be held at Hampton Court, where the subject was to be discussed with the chief Puritan divines. The discussion was opened by James himself seated in regal state, surrounded by the prelates and high office-bearers of the Church, who, like the Queen of Sheba, wondered at his wisdom, and listened on bended knee when he addressed them. But the Puritans soon found that they had been by no means invited to an equal controversy; instead of this, they were expected to do nothing but to listen and obey, for the king engrossed the whole argument, and endeavoured to browbeat them into silent submission. He haranged, he reasoned, he quibbled, he threatened, until his wrath was kindled into full heat by the word Presbytery, which Dr Reynolds, one of the Puritans, had accidentally used in the argument. Thinking that he meant a Scottish Presbytery, the king exclaimed in great wrath, that presbytery agreed as well with monarchy as God and the devil. "Stay, I pray you," he added, "for one seven years, before you demand that of me; and if you then find me puffy and fat, and my wind-pipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be once up, I am sure I shall be kept in breath; then we shall all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But, Dr Reynolds, till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone." Having thus expressed his sentiments, he afterwards wound up the controversy with this unanswerable conclusion: "I'll make them conform, or I'll harry them out of this land, or else do worse." Nothing could exceed the fulsome flattery with which all this was received by the attending courtiers and prelates. Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, he verily believed that the king spoke by the spirit of God; and the Lord Chancellor observed to the Dean of Chester, "I have often heard of the offices of king and priest being blended in one person, but never saw it verified till now."

There was another religious party in England, who were not to be so easily silenced; these were the papists, whom the stern policy of Elizabeth had so severely oppressed, that they were ready for any sacrifice short of recantation to procure deliverance. This they had endeavoured to obtain, by embracing the cause of Mary Stuart; and after

her execution, they turned their longing eyes towards the accession of James, as the surest promise of liberation. James, as we have seen, was not slow to encourage these expectations for the advancement of his own interests; and even in some of his writings, he had afforded such prospects of his willingness to be persuaded, and brought back to the church of Rome, that the Pope, to whom these passages were read, had shed tears of joy at the prospect of such a hopeful convertite. But no sooner had he obtained quiet possession of the throne of the Tudors, than he threw all his professions to the winds, and adopted the stern policy of Elizabeth. The disappointment of the papists, embittered by such double-dealing, originated the well-known conspiracy called the Gunpowder Plot, in which a handful of desperate men resolved to blow king, lords, and commons, into the air in a single moment, and reconstruct the dominion of popery upon the ruins of a shattered empire. Insane although such a plan appeared, it would probably have been crowned in the first instance at least with success, had it not been detected by a dark and equivocal expression in an anonymous letter. The conspirators were baffled when all was ripe for action, and suffered the punishment they had merited.

James being now backed by all the power and resources of England, and having no longer a new seventeenth of December to fear, was in haste to resume his original task of annihilating presbyterianism in Scotland. To this he was excited not only by his love of supremacy both in church and state, but his desire of a thorough union between Scotland and England by a complete conformity in their ecclesiastical government and forms of worship,—without which, he believed, in common with many of that period, that such a union was impossible. He therefore continued to tamper with the decisions of the General Assemblies, oppress and banish their best ministers, and augment step by step the power and influence of the bishops. In these attempts much bribery was used, and a large amount of money squandered; but the royal purpose was crowned with success. The bishops were invested with authority as lords paramount over the presbyters, to modify and fix the amount of their stipends,—a right which they used in favouring the obsequious, and starving out those who opposed them. They were afterwards exalted into the Court of High Commission, where they were armed with all the despotic power to persecute which was enjoyed by the English Star Cham-

ber; and finally, they were endowed with the full authority of diocesans, by being appointed moderators of their respective synods, with the right to present to benefices, excommunicate offenders, and visit as judges the churches within their bounds. And truly, this last authority of visitation was no empty honour; it seemed to invest them in some cases with the power of the popedom itself; so that when Law, bishop of Orkney, announced a pastoral visit in 1608 to the recusant presbytery of Jedburgh, he threatened to come to them armed with the full influence both of the temporal and spiritual sword. Having thus raised the Scottish bishops to the desired pre-eminence, James thought it necessary for the completion of their character, that they should receive consecration at the hands of English prelates, as they had been ordained to the clerical office in the mere capacity of Scottish presbyters. Accordingly, the Archbishop of Glasgow and the Bishops of Brechin and Galloway, repaired to London, in obedience to the royal behest; and having been invested with their high office according to the formula of the English church, they returned to Scotland, with power to confer it upon their less favoured brethren.

Although episcopacy was thus exalted to its full height in Scotland, the pedestal which it occupied was so narrow, that a downfall was every moment to be feared. Propped and supported by the royal authority alone, it had not only the people, but also the nobility arrayed against it in full hostility. The latter were indignant that men generally of humble origin, and too often of upstart dispositions, should not only compete with them in rank and splendour, but be classed with them in public processions, and seated on the same bench in the council and the senate. There was also a still more selfish motive at the bottom of their dislike: from the king's eagerness to aggrandize his favourite bishops, he might attempt the resumption of those church lands that had so fervently kindled the reforming zeal of their fathers; and now that he was king of England, no coalition of the Scottish nobles could be sufficient to deter him, as it might have done in times past. Thus they became ardent presbyterians for the time, from the same spirit that had converted their parents into determined protestants. James quickly saw that his prelates needed the support of the royal countenance, and he resolved to aid them in person. He was also allured by the flattering accounts of the bishops, who persuaded him they had so successfully la-

boured in their vocation, that the whole land was ripe for a conversion to episcopacy, and only waited his arrival, that the merit of the change might be his own.

Instigated by these motives, James prepared in good earnest for a journey to Scotland. On bidding his people farewell at his departure to England, he had assured them of a visit every third year, and perhaps would have kept his promise, but for those reckless habits of profusion which even the wealth of England was insufficient to gratify. A quarter of a million, which he received from Holland on the restoration of certain towns that had been pledged to the English crown, enabled him in 1617 to announce to the Privy Council of Scotland the certainty of a visit, incited, as he told them, by his "salmon-like affection;" desiring them to have every thing in readiness for his reception, and promising to hear all complaints, and redress every kind of grievance. To lull them into security, he also assured them, that his coming would occasion no alteration either in civil or ecclesiastical affairs. Even this promise, however, he violated in the same breath, by ordering the chapel of Holyrood to be repaired for worship after the English fashion, an organ to be set up, and timber statues of the twelve apostles, which had been fabricated for the purpose, to be placed in the niches. These innovations justly alarmed the people; and their cry was, "The organ came first, now we have the images, and ere long we shall have the mass!" The bishops finding that matters had been carried too far, requested the king's permission to remove the images, to which he acceded, with the peevish remark, that the people would allow the figures of lions, dragons, or devils, in their churches, but not those of apostles and saints.

James arrived in Edinburgh on the 16th of May, accompanied by a splendid train of English nobles, and was welcomed by his old subjects, after an absence of fourteen years, with all their national ardour. He then made a royal progress through the principal counties, and was every where received with the same cordiality. He soon made it evident, however, that he had come for far other purposes than to receive welcomes and parade himself in processions. The chapel of the palace of Holyrood was adorned with a splendid altar, having on it the usual array of bibles, candles, and basons, which Elizabeth had retained in the ceremonial of the church; while the ears of the presbyterians were invaded, for the first time since the Reformation, by the sounds of musical instruments and the chaunting of

choristers, in the celebration of public worship. In the sacrament of the Supper, also, the king and his suite received the elements kneeling, while such of the Scottish nobility as attended were required to communicate in the same manner.

All this was but the prelude to more important innovations. The Scottish nobles who had girded themselves for opposition, were to be disarmed and soothed; and this was easily done by an appeal to their selfishness. Whatever possession they held of church property, whether by grant or seizure, was to remain undisturbed to them and their heirs for ever; and as for the new hierarchy, it was to be provided for by the munificence of the king. Could they then still hesitate to recognise the king as the head of the church? The assurance was sufficient for their conversion, and they were soon ready to aid in the sacrifice of a national worship for which they had never greatly cared. An act was therefore passed by the Lords of Articles, declaring that whatever the king should determine in the external government of the church with the advice of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the force of a law. But what was a competent number?—of this the king was alone to judge, so that he could make the presbyters a minority at pleasure. The passing of this measure upon which so much depended, was a stolen march, and therefore conducted with secrecy and haste, yet not so covertly, but that the ministers who were in Edinburgh caught tidings of the manoeuvre. They thought it full time to take the alarm, when king, bishops, and lords, notwithstanding their solemn declarations that no innovation should be attempted in the church, had passed an act by which it was delivered into the hands of its worst enemies. James was therefore warned of the opposition which he might expect, but to no purpose. "To have matters ruled," he said, "as they have been in your General Assemblies, I will never agree; for the bishops must rule the ministers, and the king rule both." The clergymen, to the number of fifty-six, then drew up a petition, remonstrating against the change; but although the document was not delivered, the mere act of penning it was accounted treason, and the principal authors prosecuted before the High Commission at St Andrews. At this meeting, the king who was present, harangued and argued as he was wont; but in David Calderwood, the historian of the church, who was one of the culprits, he found an antagonist whose logic he could neither



silence nor refute. Such was now the greatness of the alarm, the rapidity with which it spread, and the popular opposition it provoked, that James soon perceived he had been too precipitate, and the obnoxious measure was abandoned. The purpose of his journey, which was the establishment of the royal supremacy in the church, being thus disconcerted, he turned his wrath upon the prelates, whom he called "dolts" and "deceivers," and returned to England in no gentle mood.

As for the unfortunate bishops, the language of whose flattery to James had been, "Without you we die," they felt as if they were about to experience the truth of the declaration in sad earnest. A struggle for their lives was necessary, and they exerted themselves with desperate energy to repair their error, and advance, at whatever hazard, the cause which their master had so much at heart. A General Assembly was therefore convoked at Perth on the 25th of August 1618, before which the bishops produced those articles that the ministers were required to adopt and authorise. These were five in number, commonly called the Articles of Perth, from the place where the meeting was held; and consisted of, 1. Kneeling at the communion; 2. Private communion; 3. Private baptism; 4. Confirmation of children; and 5. Observance of festivals. Every art was put in practice at this assembly by the prelates to obtain the requisite assent. For this purpose, Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, seated himself without election in the moderator's chair, and by his own authority nominated those who were to be members of the privy conference, by which he was enabled to select those who were most in favour of the five articles in question. To awe the dissentients, and secure the wavering, the king's letter was read a second time before proceeding to the decision; and when the list was called at the voting, the archbishop admonished the doubtful with the stern caveat: "Have the king in your mind; remember the king; look to the king!" It was easy by such methods, and others equally nefarious which were put in practice, to extort acquiescence, and the five articles were passed by a large majority. And yet, in spite of all this exclusiveness and intimidation, forty-five members refused their assent. The articles were ratified by the Privy Council, and finally by the Parliament in 1621. When the Marquis of Hamilton in full parliament touched them with the royal sceptre, in sign of ratification, a thunder-cloud, which had overhung and darkened the city, at that moment

exploded ; the flashes of lightning terrified all present ; the peals that followed shook the building ; and such was the torrent of rain, that instead of the meeting rising in its wonted state, and marching in procession, each member stole to his home as he best could. This day was long remembered in Scotland under the name of "the Black Saturday." And yet, while the city trembled and was silent, as at a sign of divine wrath, the enemies of the Scottish Church flouted at the fears of its adherents, and declared, that the ratification of these articles had been confirmed by fire from heaven, even as the giving of the law had been upon Mount Sinai.

No sooner were the Articles of Perth made part of the law of the realm, than the bishops commenced a hot persecution against the recusants, in which they were told by the king to go on boldly—that they had the law on their side. "The sword is put into your hands," said the royal epistle ; "go on therefore to use it, and let it rest no longer." But still the people would not succumb : while with some it was a matter of conscience to refuse obedience, others, who merely regarded the articles as English innovations, opposed them with all the national fervour. The practice of kneeling at the communion, as being the most obvious, was also the most obnoxious token of compliance, and the churches in which this practice was observed were speedily deserted. When Christmas day also arrived, which was to be observed with more veneration than even the Sabbath itself, the people either left the town, or pursued their ordinary occupations. The prelates were not slow to make good the argument which his majesty had recommended ; and among their persecutions especially memorable, was that of George Johnston, minister of the parish of Ancrum. This aged man, who had been more than fifty years in the ministry, was summoned in 1622 to appear before the High Commission Court at Edinburgh, for non-compliance with the Perth articles, and threatened with a process of horning, unless he performed an impossibility, by travelling to the capital and answering the citation in person. In the reply which he transmitted to the merciless court, he made the following moving appeal : "If my age of seventy-three years, with my infirmities, to wit, swelling in both my legs ; my fever, customary after my travel in the open air, with other miseries following age, which I refer your lordships to the consideration of—having, moreover, past a jubilee of years in the ministry, never being deprived, nor yet suspended, howbeit

oft accused, may not hold me excused from coming to Edinburgh, with manifest hazard of my health and life, I, offering in my last letter, to compear where these two may be safe, to give an answer to your lordships, or any competent and indifferent judge—if these reasons, I say, cannot satisfy your lordships, I betake me to God's mercy, not being guilty of any committed crime, either to be laid to my charge, or yet to my conscience." His appeal and his offer were equally disregarded: because he could not travel, he was deprived of the ministerial office by a sentence of the archbishop, commencing with "John by the mercy of God," and banished into Annandale.

The spirit of persecution now awake and active, went onward in full vigour, but with its wonted effect: it only endeared more fully to the people, the faith for which they suffered. The silenced ministers also, who considered the sentence too unrighteous to be obeyed, continued to preach; and when the churches were closed upon them, they assembled their congregations in private houses. These meetings were therefore interdicted and punished as treasonable musters. But the master-stroke of the prelates was to quell the metropolis, after which they thought the submission of the whole land would follow; and therefore, all in Edinburgh of proper age were commanded by royal proclamation, to repair to the churches on Christmas, and receive the communion kneeling, otherwise the courts of justice should be removed from their city. This was a sentence the execution of which would have reduced the capital to a mere village; but its bold citizens declared, they would rather see it burned to ashes, than submit. Easter was the time appointed for the trial; but before that festival arrived, James had passed to a tribunal where king and peasant are regarded with equal eye. Despised by his English subjects, who forgot his wise sayings in the folly of his deeds; impoverished by his worthless favourites, whom he continued to cherish with crazy partiality to the last; and gross in body, from the indulgence of gluttonous appetites, he died of a tertian ague in 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His death-bed was scantily and coldly attended, and he expired unhonoured and unregreted.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

**Accession of Charles I.—His character—His first attempts to establish Episcopacy in Scotland—His unsatisfactory visit—Unsuccessful attempt to introduce the Service-book—Establishment of the Four Tables in Edinburgh—The Covenant subscribed—General Assembly at Glasgow—War commenced by Charles against the Scots.**

A. D. 1625 to A. D. 1639.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Louis XIII.	Philip IV.	Ferdinand II. Ferdinand III.	Urban VIII.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1625. Barbadoes, the first English settlement in the West Indies, planted.
- 1625. Knights Baronets first created in Scotland.
- 1632. Gustavus Adolphus killed at the battle of Lutzen.
- 1635. The French Academy instituted.
- 1637. Ben Johnson the English dramatic poet dies.

CHARLES I. who now ascended the throne of the three kingdoms was born at Edinburgh on the 19th of November 1600, and therefore had attained his twenty-fifth year when he was crowned at Westminster. But little did he calculate, at this season of popular triumph, upon the mournful and most unenviable nature of that inheritance to which he had succeeded. The lofty declamations of his father about the unlimited authority of kings, and the divine right by which they governed, had roused a spirit of jealousy and opposition among the people, while the pusillanimous nature of his administration, and the contemptible inconsistencies of his character so much in contrast with his stately pretensions, had brought the kingly office itself into contempt. The establishment, in the first instance, of the reformation in England, and afterwards the diffusion of puritan principles, had forcibly attracted inquiry to the subject of royalty in general; and men were no longer in the mood either to worship the divinity of kings, or to tolerate that despotism which they had endured under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. But unfortunately for his people and himself, Charles I. had imbibed the arbitrary principles of his father; and endowed with an obstinacy and fearlessness which his father had never possessed, he was ready to peril his all in realizing those extravagant theories upon which James had only declaimed and prated.

Here was the fruitful origin of mistrust, dissension, and hostility between the sovereign and his subjects, that foreboded too surely a troubled and unhappy reign, and a contest that would only terminate in the deeper enthrallment of the people or the destruction of the king.

From this character of Charles, it is evident that the presbyterianism of Scotland would find little favour in his eyes. Its whole spirit was in opposition to that passive obedience, the tribute of which he regarded as his unquestionable birthright, as well as that form of ecclesiastical government to which he was a confirmed bigot ; and thus he considered it not merely as a political treason, but a religious heresy, and consequently worthy of a double condemnation. He had not therefore been long seated, when he turned his attention to his native country, with the design of completing that work which his father had commenced, of establishing an entire conformity between the churches of England and Scotland. This could not be done however without endowing the prelates of the latter country with revenues correspondent to their rank and influence ; and as the royal treasury had been impoverished by the extravagance of his father, he considered a resumption of the original church lands as the only available resource. But this was also a most perilous expedient, considering into what hands the property of the church had fallen. It was necessary to proceed with caution, and therefore, towards the close of 1625, he made a step in advance by revoking those grants of crown lands which his father had made. Having done this, he paused : more than a mere proclamation would have roused the Scottish nobility into hostile action ; and therefore he prepared the way for further proceedings, by enlarging the authority of the bishops, and giving them seats in the Privy Council and court of High Commission. His next attempt was at the Convention of Estates in the following year, when the proposal of resuming the tithes and church lands was repeated : here, however, the opposition of the alarmed nobles was so strong, that Charles abandoned the measure as still premature. But in 1628 he made a more distinct attempt, by the private purchase of some old church lands which he bestowed upon the prelates, as if they had been voluntarily resigned, hoping that the other holders of church property would follow the example. He then sent down the Earl of Nithsdale to hold a Convention of Estates, and obtain from them a decree sanctioning the resumption of all the tithes and church lands that had re-

verted to the crown, or been shared among the nobility, during the two preceding reigns. Here, however, the opposition was so determined, and the resolution of the nobles to unite themselves against their sovereign as in times past, so confirmed, that Nithsdale found his mission hopeless, and the proposal was abandoned. One terrible instance of hostility on the occasion was enough to daunt the stoutest. Lord Belhaven, already a blind and feeble old man, vowing to make sure of one at least of Nithsdale's supporters, was placed, at a meeting, by his own express desire, next the Earl of Dumfries, of whom he took firm hold, with the apology, that his blindness needed such support. But while he clung to the earl with his left hand, his right was privately upon his dagger's hilt, which he was ready to plunge into his supporter's heart as soon as a disturbance commenced.

For several years after this event, Charles was too much occupied in contentions with his English parliament to prosecute his favourite design upon Scotland. But in 1633, he resolved to honour his ancient kingdom with a personal visit, as his father had done in 1617, and with the same purpose. His avowed object, however, was his coronation in Scotland, for which every preparation was made, and on the 15th of June he entered Edinburgh at the head of a magnificent train of five hundred English attendants,—a retinue which the on-lookers, who remembered the expensive visit of his father, beheld with dismay. But there was one pinched and ascetic countenance in the royal train that boded worse calamity to the land than impoverished larders and heavy imposts: it was that of Laud, now the chosen counsellor of the king, who scowled as he passed along at the nakedness of presbyterianism, and who had brought with him that gorgeous ritual by which the whole land was to be clothed with the beauty of holiness. The ceremonials of public worship with which the king was accompanied, as well as those of the coronation, soon indicated that the narrow but restless spirit of the English hierarch was all-prevalent: prelatie silks and embroidery flaunted in choral procession; altars were graced with tapers and silver basons; and over all, was the form of the crucifix, which was honoured with bended knee and reverential homage. And all this was no passing show to be forgotten as soon as the king had recrossed the Tweed; on the contrary, these forms, obnoxious though they had become even in the eyes of the English, were to be imposed upon Scotland. also, and to form a chief part of her national worship.

This rash and impolitic commencement on the part of Charles was followed up in the same spirit of infatuation. In 1606, James had procured an act to be passed by the Scottish parliament, acknowledging his supremacy in every cause, and over all persons; and three years after, another, by which he was empowered to regulate the vestments of the judges, magistrates, and clergy. Although the first of these acts had been severely enforced in Scotland, the latter had been allowed to lie dormant until now, when Charles resolved to revive it, as the surest pledge of ecclesiastical conformity. He accordingly classed both acts together in his proposal before the parliament, hoping that if the first and more important was passed, it would obviate all demur to the ratification of the second, and thus Laud and himself might array the Scottish church according to their good pleasure. But they forgot, in their devices, the habitual shrewdness of the people whom they thus attempted to overreach. The parliament paused upon the article of the vestments as the prelude of more serious innovations, and a formidable resistance was made to the royal proposal, headed by the Earl of Rothes. Charles, unaccustomed to such opposition, was astonished and 'indignant; he drew from his pocket the list of members, and exclaimed, "I have your names here, and I shall know to-day those who will, and those who will not do me service." The votes then went onward, and in spite of the king's menaces there was a majority against his measure. Even then, however, the clerk-register had the hardihood to proclaim that it had been carried! Rothes flatly denied the assertion, declaring that the negatives were the majority; upon which Charles, who must have known that such was the case, as he had carefully marked the votes on the list, asserted that the clerk-register was in the right, and that his report must be received as correct, unless the earl accused him of vitiating the parliamentary record, in which case, he must submit to capital punishment if he failed in his proof. This iniquitous and extravagant demand compelled Rothes to be silent, and the act was ratified. Charles, however, was soon compelled to feel how offensive his conduct had been to his Scottish subjects; and indignant at the firmness with which they opposed his ecclesiastical innovations, he left the kingdom on the 18th of July, to encounter the still more serious evils that awaited him in England.

Laud having now attained the supremacy in the church & being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, proceeded

in his career with the cruelty of an inquisitor, and the arrogance of a pope; and the best men in England who dared to oppose his measures, were refuted by fine and mutilation. But all this was nothing as long as the presbyterianism of Scotland was unsubdued; in the eyes of the proud primate it was Mordecai sitting in the gate, and a desperate and final attempt was devised for its overthrow. For this purpose, a liturgy was compiled for the use of the Scottish churches, and a day appointed for its introduction. Edinburgh was to have the first fruits of the experiment, in the hope, that as so large a portion of its population were dependent upon the court, they might be won over to acquiescence, in which case the country at large would follow the example of the capital. When the day arrived, which was the 23d of July 1637, the attempt was made in the forenoon in the Greyfriars Church, by the bishop of Argyle, where the service was almost drowned in groans and lamentations. But it was in the ancient cathedral of St Giles that the murmuring storm exploded. The Dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in a surplice, opened the book, and began to read the prayers, amidst a wondering and indignant congregation, when their silent feeling at last burst forth in the outcry of Janet Geddes, an old woman, who suddenly started to her feet and exclaimed, "Villain, dost thou say mass at my lug?" Not content with mere words, she snatched up the stool on which she had been sitting, and hurled it with such force at the dean's head, that had he not stooped, and eluded the heavy missile, the new liturgy at its commencement would probably have been graced with a martyr. The shout that rose was universal; and when the Bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to still the uproar, he was greeted with a shower of sticks, stones, and other missiles. The most noisy were at length excluded by force; but from the outside, they broke the windows, attempted to burst open the doors, and made the air ring with the cries of "A pope, a pope! Antichrist! Pull him down! Stone him!" At the end of this maimed religious service, the bishop fled, and was chased into a staircase, from which he had to be rescued by the servants of the Earl of Wemyss, who escorted him to his lodgings with drawn swords, while the other prelates who were at that time in Edinburgh, were exposed to similar dangers. Such was the explosion which a single spark had sufficed to kindle: it resembled the first reformation in Scotland, where the signal of action was a stone thrown by a boy.



In both cases, the elements of a great national revolution were so completely matured, that the raising of a finger would have been enough to call them forth; and in both, the example of the "rascal multitude" animated all classes, and summoned them to the conflict. In every part of the kingdom, from ministers, from congregations, and presbyteries, petitions against the liturgy were showered upon the Privy Council, and these, instead of being disregarded, as in times past, were favourably received. While the creed of the people was at stake, the revenues of the aristocracy were in jeopardy, and therefore all were at one and in earnest, except that little minority by whom the storm had been chiefly raised. Here was the voice of a nation which none but a ruler foredoomed to ruin would have disregarded: and that ruler was Charles. Indifferent to every petition, or rejecting it with scorn, he demanded of the Scots a submission so complete, as only confirmed them in their purposes of a universal resistance.

In conformity with this resolution, a general meeting was summoned at Edinburgh on the 15th of November, to unite in one general and final petition against the obnoxious innovations of the king and his advisers. The most influential of the nation accordingly thronged the capital; and, until the royal answer to their petition should arrive, they consulted upon the necessity of giving unity to their measures in defence of religion, by organising a representative assembly, in which the different classes should have their sentiments expressed. The expected answer came, but it was an arrogant command to the petitioners to leave the town in twenty-four hours; and by another proclamation, the Privy Council and Court of Session were ordered to be removed from Edinburgh to Linlithgow. This conduct of the sovereign decided the question of a representative assembly. It was impossible to retain so great a multitude for any length of time within the capital; it was impossible to conduct the necessary deliberations amidst such an overwhelming crowd. Besides, if they remained long together, the attempts already making to disunite them might be successful, so that the whole coalition would be broken in pieces, or armed against each other in mutual dissension. These considerations decided the presbyterians to form a government within the government, a senate independent of the king. Accordingly, the four classes of noblemen, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses, elected their representatives, who met in four separate rooms of the Parliament

house for deliberation, and who were called the Four Tables; after which the multitude dispersed to their homes.

Notwithstanding this decisive expression of the land, the infatuation of Charles still continued: he threatened when he should have soothed, and thought to effect by proclamations what armies could scarcely have accomplished. The arts of fraud and threats of violence which he alternately employed, only drove the presbyterians another step in advance, that was signalised by the revival of the great National Covenant. This important bond, which had originated in the early stages of the reformation, and been subscribed for the condemnation of popery, and the profession of the presbyterian form of church government and worship, with a definition of the nature and limits of royalty, especially in things spiritual, and the kind of obedience that was due to it, was now extended, to meet those episcopal innovations which had been imposed of late years, and which were condemned and renounced. It was no longer the mere removal of the service-book and the surplice that would satisfy the desires of the people. This covenant, which it has been so much the fashion to vilify, was to be the Scottish Magna Charta of the seventeenth century; the death-knell of the despotism of the Stuarts; the pledge of that freedom, under a restricted and well-defined monarchy, in which the children of the martyred covenanters have so long rejoiced. The day so important to Scotland in which this engagement on the part of the nation to the King of kings was subscribed, was the 28th of February 1638; and never had the walls of Edinburgh comprised so vast or so intense a throng of human beings. After the great work had been preceded by the solemn services of public devotion, which were conducted by Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, an honoured name in the history of the Church of Scotland, as the Knox of its second reformation, the document was read to the assembled worshippers in the church-yard of the Greyfriars,—and at its close, every hand was raised, every tongue loosed in assent; and the large parchment on which the covenant was transcribed, was so thickly covered with names, that soon there was scarcely space for even the initials of the subscribers. Such too was the prevalent enthusiasm, that even that of Bannockburn would have been tame in comparison. Some shouted, others wept, but they were cries and tears of irrepressible gladness; many added to their subscription the words, “till death;” and others, opening a vein, signed with their blood. The

prelates remained in their seclusions, trembling and speechless, while Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St Andrews, who saw in this great national muster an assemblage for the funeral of episcopacy in Scotland, exclaimed in accents of despair, "All that we have been doing these thirty years past, is at once thrown down!"

The establishment of the Tables in Edinburgh, by which the movements of the national spirit were now regulated, and the signature of the covenant by almost every town and borough in Scotland in the short space of two months, would at any other season have unfurled the banner, and sounded to the onset. But Charles, trusting to his kingcraft and kingly authority, had neglected the only means of coercion, while his proclamations had been as fruitless as the words of Canute addressed to the waves. He would now have brought the whole to the arbitration of battle, but he was without an army; and he saw, that with even the legions of England at his back, Scotland might be crushed, but not conquered. He therefore sent down the Marquis of Hamilton as his commissioner, to open a General Assembly, and grant the demands of the Tables,—but privately to sow dissension among them, and make the concessions of no avail. But the presbyterians, who were so well prepared to encounter force with force, possessed also a prudence that was an overmatch for his craft. The Assembly was held at Glasgow, on the 21st of November, and thither the members came, not to parley upon concessions, but for the restoration of the national church in all its presbyterian integrity. Although the commissioner, who soon perceived from the strength and unanimity of the meeting, that his efforts to divide it were hopeless, hastened, as a last resource, to dissolve the Assembly in the king's name, and resign his charge, the members remained in their places, and with Alexander Henderson for their moderator, proceeded with firmness to the work for which they had assembled. During the thirty days in which they sat, the two archbishops and six bishops were excommunicated, four prelates deposed, and two suspended; the Five Articles of Perth, the Service-book, the Canons, and the Court of High Commission, were condemned, and prelacy itself abrogated, as contrary to the Covenant, and incompatible with the principles of the Church of Scotland. All, in short, that had been so laboriously achieved by James VI. and Charles I. for thirty years, was condemned, cancelled, and swept away; so that Henderson might well utter those memorable words

with which he dismissed the Assembly: "We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth, beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

These deeds were more significant than the defiance of heralds: war was inevitable. Here, however, Charles, who was still bent on the establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, although it should be upon the ruins of a whole nation, saw that it was in vain to apply to his parliament for aid, as they were almost as much opposed to his political, as the Scots to his hierarchical usurpations. In this difficulty he applied to Laud and the clergy, who entered with ardour into what they considered a holy war; and from the funds thus obtained, he was derisively termed "Canterbury's knight" by his puritan subjects. The Scots were ready for such an issue; and having previously secured and garrisoned the principal strengths of the kingdom, their army encamped at Dunselaw, to the number of twenty-four thousand, under the command of Alexander Leslie, a skilful leader, trained in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus, and officered by experienced captains who had served with him in Germany. Independently of the cause at stake, a mere military calculation would not have hesitated to conclude upon what side the chance of success lay; for while the Scots were united into one formidable phalanx by the strongest of all ties, and animated by that religious ardour which surpasses alike the enthusiasm of the patriot and the daring of the hero; in the king's army, the nobles and soldiers were averse to a civil war, in which Laud and Charles were to be the only gainers. This was manifested in the first skirmish which took place between the parties at Kelso. Two thousand English cavalry, headed by the Earl of Holland, were thrown forward upon an inferior party of foot,—and showed their good sense by running away at the first onset, instead of fighting, as heretofore, to the death, because those who confronted them were Scots. Nothing could have been more conclusive than this; and Charles was compelled to have recourse to treaty, which he managed with his usual duplicity. He granted all that the covenanters demanded, and only waited for an opportunity to break his engagements. Such was the spirit in which he had conducted his government, until now that the crown was falling from his head. Thus he still continued to act, though a civil war had commenced, in which both crown and head were at stake. It was not then, nor is it even now, that politicians have learned the simple precept, that cunning invariably

ends in overreaching itself, and that common honesty and sincerity are as necessary for the administration of a kingdom as for the management of a household. That lesson, pervaded and directed by the holiest of principles, has yet to be realised; and then only there will be happy nations, as well as happy homes.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

War between Charles I. and the Scots renewed—Civil war commences in England—The Scottish army joins the parliament—Charles defeated—Montrose rises for the king in Scotland—His rapid career of success—He is defeated at Philiphaugh—Charles takes refuge with the Scottish army—Is surrendered to the English parliament—His trial and execution.

A. D. 1639 to A. D. 1649.

### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Louis XIII.	Philip IV.	Ferdinand III.	Urban VIII.
Louis XIV.			Innocent X.

### IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1640. Portugal freed from Spain by John of Braganza.
- 1640. Madras founded in India by the English.
- 1641. Sugar cane introduced into Barbadoes from Brazil.

THE result of the hollow treaty of Charles with the covenanters justified their precaution of retaining their best officers and commanders, after the soldiers had been dismissed. They soon found that the king was making active preparations for a fresh invasion; upon which they resolved, instead of waiting for his coming, to enter England, and strike the first blow. The levies were quickly recalled to their standards; and under the command of Alexander Leslie, they crossed the border, and reached the Tyne at Newburn Fords, where they found three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse from the royal army ready to dispute the passage. But the military skill of Leslie, and the intrepid zeal of his "blue bonnets," were an overmatch for their opponents, who on the 28th of August 1640 were out-mancœuvred, broken, and put to flight at every point, so that the Scots having crossed the river, entered Newcastle, which the English troops had evacuated. Continuing their successful career, they took Durham, Shields, and

Tynemouth, and in a few days, with scarcely the loss of a man, were masters of almost the whole of the four English northern counties. This was a new era in the history of a Scottish invasion of England; but it must be remembered, that while the king's soldiers fought in a cause for which they had little affection, the people regarded the Scots no longer as hereditary enemies and invaders, but rather as friends and allies.

Charles being now deficient both in men and money, had recourse once more to the shifts of temporising; and having received the petition of the covenanters, in which nothing more was demanded than their old civil rights and religious liberty, he commenced a negotiation at Ripon, which was forthwith transferred to London, where the Long Parliament was about to be assembled, and to which commissioners were to be sent from the army to represent their cause. This was an ominous transference for the interests of Charles. To silence or subdue the enemy, he admitted their choicest into the heart of his capital! The commissioners sent on this occasion were Alexander Henderson, the active, sagacious, and eloquent leader of the Scottish Reformation, and Robert Baillie, George Gillespie, and Robert Blair, clergymen whose learning and talents, as well as capacity for business, would have raised them to eminence in any age or country. The presence of these men in London, their sermons, conversation, and ingratiating manners, soon endeared them to the puritans, whose cause was now completely in the ascendant, and prepared the way for uniformity in the churches of the two kingdoms, but a very different uniformity from that for which Charles was perilling his crown. After the treaty had continued six months, the king's eyes were opened to the error he had committed: not only was a presbyterian army encamped in England, but its best advocates were established in the metropolis. In his eagerness to be rid of both, he had recourse to his usual expedient of promise-making, so that he agreed to disband the army he had levied against the Scots, to withdraw his garrisons from Berwick and Carlisle, and grant a complete amnesty for all that had past. This seemingly amicable compliance was followed by a royal visit to Scotland, in which, under the pretext of composing dissensions, his aim was to divide the presbyterians, and win over the most influential to his cause. With this view, he attended the services of their church which he had so repeatedly condemned, ratified the acts of the Glasgow As-

sembly against which he had drawn the sword, raised General Leslie to the rank of Earl of Leven, and appointed Henderson one of his royal chaplains; and while he thus gratified some by present honours, he raised the hopes of others by promises which he scattered with tempting liberality.

It would be difficult to conjecture how far these conciliatory arts might have been carried, or what dangerous effects they might have produced, when they were suddenly dispersed by the explosion of the Irish Massacre. This volcanic outburst, which shook England and Scotland to the centre, carried dismay into every heart, and wakened every protestant suspicion of deceit and danger into tenfold strength. It was too late to tamper with the fears of men amidst the progress of such a frightful butchery, more especially, as Charles himself was suspected not only of having been privy to the rebellion, but to have sanctioned it, in the hope that it would produce a diversion in his favour. He was now reaping the fruits of that harvest of misgovernment which his father had sown, and into which he was himself so ready to thrust the sickle. The despotic arrogance of his rule not only over the bodies, goods, and rights, but also the consciences of his subjects; his imposition of Arminian doctrines and popish ceremonies upon the church, and of unconstitutional taxes upon the community at large; and his resolution to govern without a parliament, and in express defiance to the feelings of the whole nation, had roused against him that old freedom-loving spirit of England which no despot, however able, could have defied with impunity; and thus, when he was at last compelled through sheer necessity to convoke a parliament, instead of passively voting the moneys for which alone he had assembled them, they proceeded to impeach his chief advisers as traitors against the liberties of the nation. In November 1640, the Earl of Strafford, who had reigned as viceroy in Ireland with more than regal assumption, was obliged, in the House of Lords, to hear his impeachment by the Commons on his knees, and then depart a prisoner to the Tower; and on the following month, Laud, the most powerful of English primates since the days of Becket, was impeached by the same authority, and sent to the same ominous confinement. The events that occurred from these causes after the return of the king from Scotland, and the dissensions between him and the House of Commons that gradually ripened into civil war, are matters that belong more properly to the history of England. That fatal period

arrived on the 25th of August 1642, when Charles, after having vainly endeavoured to surprise Hull, which was garrisoned for the parliament, erected his standard at Nottingham. This gloomy signal of unnatural strife, and announcement of woe to a land divided against itself, was planted upon the Castle-hill, amidst a scanty crowd, the king being attended only by a regiment of train-bands, instead of a disciplined host—and on the same night, as if to deepen this evil omen of his fate, the standard was blown down by a violent wind, and could not be replaced till two days after. Even Nottingham was soon an unsafe residence for Charles, on account of the neighbourhood of the parliamentary army, and the hostility of the townsmen; and after vainly attempting a reconciliation when matters had been carried too far for peaceful treaty, he repaired to the west of England, where his chief adherents were mustering their forces.

The first encounters of the civil war in England were unfavourable to the adherents of liberty; and for this, several causes might be assigned. Under the pacific reign of James, the military spirit of the country had been repressed; and now that war had broken out, the people were daunted when they found themselves, not as in former days arrayed against Scots and Frenchmen, but their own landlords and feudal superiors, headed by the sovereign himself. On the other side, the highly-descended of the land, among whom the ancient chivalry still lingered, and those soldiers of fortune who considered the royal cause as the promise of success with the contingents of plunder and promotion, rallied round the banner of the king. The opening of the campaign was therefore in favour of Charles, and he routed the parliamentarians at Chalgrove Field, Atherton Moor, and Devizes. But very different was the case when the stubborn valour of the English yeomanry and London citizens was beaten into military discipline: they soon learned to oppose an immoveable rampart of pikes against the fiery chivalry of their opponents, and a turning of the tide was manifested on the part of the royalists by broken ranks and abortive enterprises. And still more strongly was this change exhibited when Sir Thomas Fairfax, but especially Oliver Cromwell, took their place as the master-spirits of the contest. Even yet, had the covenanters of Scotland been upon the side of the king, his cause might have been retrieved, and their force, joined to his own, would have made him irresistible; but these faithful sub-



jects he had so completely alienated, that although he was their countryman as well as king, they joined the side of the English parliament, as that of civil and religious liberty. The price which the parliament was willing to pay for this aid is especially worthy of notice. They had taken up arms against prelacy as well as monarchical despotism, for the principles of puritanism, now predominant among them, were identified with the doctrines of civil liberty; and in their ideas of a reformation both in church and state, they were almost wholly at one with the Scottish presbyterians, in whose proceedings and progress they had heartily sympathised. At such a season, therefore, it was a slight sacrifice to forego those minor points of distinction which had not been sufficient at any time to keep them asunder even when the two nations were at variance. A bond of religious as well as civil union was drawn up by Alexander Henderson, under the sanction of the General Assembly; and this, under the title of the Solemn League and Covenant, and as the pledge of religious union between the three kingdoms, was subscribed on the 25th of September 1643, in St Margaret's Church, Westminster. On this momentous occasion, while both houses of parliament, the assembly of divines, and the Scottish commissioners, after the reading of the parchment-roll on which the covenant was transcribed, stood up as one man, raised their hands to heaven, and solemnly swore to its observance, the fate of Charles was sealed, the cause for which he fought was overthrown.

In consequence of this close and sacred alliance, Alexander Leslie, now Earl of Leven, crossed the border, and joined his forces to those of the parliament at York. The effect of this union was quickly signalised at Marston Moor, where Charles for the first time encountered the blended banners of Scotland and England arrayed against him. The conflict was terrible, where the bravest and best of an island renowned for ages by its valour, engaged each other in desperate struggle for the highest and dearest of all interests; and after a fight marked by many changes, the king's army was routed, chiefly through the valour of Cromwell and the skill of Leslie. The next battle was fought at Newberry; and here, the parliamentarians, who had been defeated at the same place on the previous year, gained such advantage, that Charles was compelled to make a hasty retreat to Oxford. But the deadliest disaster to the royal cause was the battle of Naseby, fought on the 14th

of June 1645. The discipline of the two armies had now become so much reversed, that while the cavaliers, if unsuccessful in their hot charges, gave way, and could no longer be brought back to action, the parliamentary troops, whose training had excited the derision of their opponents, stood like rocks, and when broken could easily be rallied. The consequence was, that after a hard fight of three hours, the royalists were pierced and routed at every point; they surrendered or fled by whole regiments; while Charles, after vainly exhorting the fugitives to rally, and exclaiming "One charge more, and we recover the day!" was swept along in the torrent, and found no resting-place until he reached the town of Hereford.

But England was not the only part of the island exposed to the miseries of civil war. During these important changes, a less comprehensive, indeed, but far more merciless campaign was going on in Scotland, where the cause of Charles promised to repair its losses, and regain a complete ascendancy under the Marquis of Montrose. This able and daring, but unscrupulous Scottish nobleman, had formerly been one of the chief leaders of his presbyterian countrymen: he had not only subscribed the covenant among the foremost, but forced it upon the town of Aberdeen at sword-point; and in the subsequent invasion of England, he was the first man of the army who crossed the Tweed, plunging fearlessly sword in hand into the river, in defiance of the enemy's fire. But such zeal was too hot to be lasting, and it was quickly cooled, on the Earl of Argyle being appointed chancellor of the kingdom, and Leslie commander of the army. In this envious and discontented mood, he was won over by Charles at the conferences of York and Ripon, and he became as ardent a royalist, as he had formerly been a covenanter. His first efforts in behalf of the king being unsuccessful, he was obliged to conceal himself in the Highlands, until the absence of Leslie and the Scottish army encouraged him to emerge upon the scene, and commence that daring career which resembles more the incredibilities of romance than the narrative of sober history. It was after the battle of Marston Moor that the marquis suddenly appeared, displaying the royal banner at the head of two thousand Highlanders, and twelve hundred Irish auxiliaries. The scanty attire and equipments of the wild horde that followed him, at first sight promised rather the hopeless riot of a rabble-rout, than the successful military invasion of such a kingdom as Scotland. But Montrose

was a leader fitted for such an army: he knew better than any soldier of the age, all the feints, movements, and resources of a guerilla warfare; and aware of the defenceless condition of the country, where none were left to guard it but peaceful citizens and peasants, he confidently promised not only to re-establish the king's authority in the north, but afterwards to join him in England at the head of twenty thousand victorious soldiers.

The meteor-like course of Montrose soon threw dismay over Scotland, while it dazzled the fancy and elevated the hopes of the English royalists. His first exploit was the surprisal of Lord Elcho, whom he suddenly attacked and routed at Tibbermuir, after which, he took the town of Perth, and gave it up to plunder. As the highlanders, according to their old custom, went home with their booty, Montrose was soon forsaken by all except the Irish kerne who had no means of retreat; but with this handful he next attacked more than twice their number posted at the bridge of Dee to intercept his retreat northward, put them to flight, and entered pell-mell at their heels into the town of Aberdeen, which four years ago he had compelled to take the covenant. And fearfully was it punished for this constrained conversion, being converted into a shambles by the savage followers of the apostate marquis. Argyle, who had hung upon his track with a superior force since his retreat from Perth, being unable to come within reach of such a light-heeled opponent, had retired to his own home, imagining the campaign at an end for the season. But in the midst of a desolate winter, while the huge rampart of mountains that guarded Argyleshire was deemed impassable from the snow that blocked up the passes, Montrose emerged from the depths of the Highlands, threaded the footpaths, scaled the hills, and came down upon Inverary so unexpectedly, that Argyle only escaped by hurrying across the lake in a fishing-boat. After ravaging Argyleshire with a pitiless ferocity, in which men, cattle, and houses were indiscriminately given to destruction, the Marquis crossed the hills of Lochaber, and advanced at unawares upon the Earl of Argyle at Innerlochy, whom he defeated with such slaughter, that fifteen hundred devoted Campbells lay dead on the field. After this victory, which was the more welcome, as it was over a rival whom he intensely hated, Montrose being joined by the Gordons and other clans, appeared suddenly before Dundee, which he summoned to surrender; but the citizens knowing that troops were already on the way to aid them,

resolved to hold out. He attacked and carried the defences of the town, although with considerable loss ; but scarcely had his wild followers commenced the work of plunder and massacre, when the expected aid appeared, whereupon he commenced one of those nimble retreats with which he was wont to baffle the calculations of military theorists. The next battle was at the village of Alderne ; and although the loss was equal on both sides, Montrose claimed the victory. Such was now his exultation, that little more than a month before the battle of Naseby, he wrote to the king a full assurance of reducing the whole kingdom from Beersheba to Dan, after which he meant to say to him, as Joab did to David, "Come thou thyself, lest this country be called by my name."

It was now evident that more strenuous efforts were necessary to quell this terrible partizan warrior, whose course was like a whirlwind, and who came and passed away in desolation and havoc. Accordingly, the Estates having raised a better-appointed force than those that had hitherto opposed Montrose, placed it under the command of Baillie and Urrey, two officers of tried experience. But matters fared as ill with these famous tacticians, as they had done with their unpractised predecessors. Having rashly divided their army in the hope of more securely enveloping their nimble antagonist among the mountains, Montrose, after successfully doubling in the pursuit, until he had sufficiently parted the two captains, turned upon them, and routed them in quick succession at Alford, upon the 2d of July 1645. Flushed with this success, he now resolved to become the assailant, and carry the war into the plains, instead of confining it to mountain skirmishes. He accordingly left his fastnesses, crossed the Forth near Stirling, and had reached Kilsyth, where the roads to Glasgow and Edinburgh lay open to his march, when he was attacked by Baillie, no longer a beaten fugitive, but at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. Him the gallant marquis again defeated, and with such loss, that five thousand covenanters were slain in the battle or pursuit, while all their artillery and military stores fell into his hands ; after which signal success, he took undisturbed possession of Glasgow, while the magistrates of Edinburgh sent to him their supplications for mercy, and offers of submission. But here his wonderful career of triumph terminated. David Leslie, who after the battle of Naseby had been detached from Leven's army with the whole of the Scottish cavalry, to arrest and crush

the insurgent, conducted his march so rapidly, that he unexpectedly came upon him in Selkirk Forest, near Philiphaugh, so that the wily Montrose, whose rapid movements had taken so many by surprise, was himself surprised in turn. The battle was desperate, but brief: the royalists were trampled down, or so completely chaced off the field, as to extinguish all hope of their rallying; and Montrose, almost alone, fled to his old hiding-place in the Highlands, to watch the turn of events, and if possible renew the war.

While thus it fared with the bravest of the royalist champions, the fate of Charles himself was still more disastrous. After the battle of Naseby, Bristol surrendered to the parliament; and in an attempt to join Montrose in Scotland, while the latter was in the full flush of victory, he was overtaken and defeated at Rowton Heath near Chester, and obliged to shut himself up in Newark, with a little court so full of quarrel and debate as to be beyond his rule, and insolently bearded by his own nephews, especially Prince Rupert, whose hot-headed valour had been the chief source of his military disasters. Newark was soon too insecure a residence for a baffled king, and Charles was obliged to steal away like a fugitive at midnight, and take refuge in the steadfast loyalty of Oxford. Even that city of peaceful halls and stately colleges also became the mark of hostile armies that gathered round it, and threatened in a few days to girdle it in, and prevent all egress. Yet Charles, as if the place had inspired him with fresh confidence in the moth-eaten theories of the schoolmen about the divine right of kings, and still trusting in that tortuous king-craft through which the crown had fallen from his head, imagined he might drive back his enemies by imperious commands and dexterous negotiation. While the war had gone onward, his opponents had gradually been resolving into two parties; the Presbyterians, who represented the parliament and bulk of the nation, and the Independents, who had the army on their side, and Cromwell at its head; and Charles hoped, that by balancing one party against the other, he might quickly reascend the throne, as the arbiter of both. To work, therefore, he went; and not content with tampering at one and the same time with the chief officers of the army, the leaders of the parliament, and the Scottish covenanters, he also opened an under-current of intrigue with the Irish papists, the confirmed enemies of the rest, as if he thereby insured an additional chance of success. But the rapid advance of the armies upon Oxford put an end to

these diplomatic manœuvres, and made instant flight necessary. Charles, after carefully weighing the question as to which party he could best entrust his person, or could most easily succeed in turning against the rest, gave the preference to the Scottish army, then lying before Newark, as the most likely to shelter him in his difficulties, and become the dupes of his manœuvres.

The choice of Charles in this instance was a correct one ; and had he but followed up the measure with proper discretion or even with common policy, all might yet have been well. The Scots, in common with the English presbyterians, required the restriction, not the abolition of monarchy ; and if Charles had made those concessions which they formerly demanded in the plenitude of his power, the whole presbyterianism of the island would have rallied round him, against those republican opponents whom nothing but his deposition and death could satisfy. But he still felt, and still acted upon the principle, that nations were only made for kings to govern. He was required to abandon his popish counsellors whom his subjects had abjured, and accept the covenant which the three nations had subscribed, in which case the swords and lives of these bold Scots were equally at his disposal. But Charles, who thought that his own single "Nay" was sufficient to outweigh the voice of three kingdoms, would neither subscribe the covenant, nor dismiss his popish advisers, although the English and Scottish commissioners knelt at his feet, and implored him to comply ; and as if he had been already safe in the midst of an army sworn to passive obedience, he resumed his intrigues with all parties, and even with Montrose himself, whose sword had made such fearful work among the kindred of those to whose allegiance he had now entrusted his defence. The Scots were naturally eager to be rid of the dangerous honour which he had thrust upon them, of being his champions and protectors ; they could only sustain such a character by abjuring the principles in which they had commenced the war, and turning as apostates and traitors upon the English whom they had come to aid. Equally unable under such circumstances to retain him in their camp, or carry him down into Scotland, they listened to the proposals of the English parliament, and surrendered him to its commissioners, on the 30th of January 1647, after solemnly stipulating for his safe and honourable treatment, and that the government should undergo no alteration. Charles, who saw the blunder he

had committed, before the year expired, and when he was now a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, subscribed, on the 30th of December, a treaty with the Scottish commissioners, to whom he once more turned in his difficulties, by which he engaged to renounce Episcopacy and accept the Covenant. But it was too late. In England, the republicans possessed the whole power of the sword, while in Scotland, the sincerity of Charles was so much distrusted, that the people were unwilling to commence a new war for his restoration. One miserable attempt indeed was made for this purpose by the Duke of Hamilton, who entered England with a miscellaneous array of Scottish cavaliers, episcopalians, and papists, consisting of only ten thousand foot, and about four hundred horse, whom Cromwell quickly encountered near Preston, and scattered to the winds. So perished the forlorn hope of Charles, the last card in his singular, but not very honest game for the recovery of his kingly honours and absolute authority.

But what was to be done with an imprisoned sovereign, whom no treaties could bind, and whom nothing short of despotic rule could satisfy? This question the republicans of England were soon to settle. They declared in their councils, with the same stern promptitude that distinguished them in battle, that Charles, having endeavoured to subvert the liberty of the nation by the erection of tyranny, and levied troops and made war for that purpose, had violated his kingly compact; had committed treason against the majesty of the law, and the people who were the source of law, and therefore, had justly incurred the penalty of—DEATH. Let him be tried as one who in becoming a traitor, had ceased to be a king. To accomplish such a daring measure, however, it was necessary that the parliament should be of the same mind; and this unanimity was rudely procured by the agency of the sectarian soldiers. A regiment under the command of Colonel Pride took forcible possession of the house, and excluded all those presbyterian and other members who were favourable to monarchy; after which the Commons, as the elected representatives of the people, proclaimed themselves the supreme power of the nation, irrespective of the King and the House of Lords. By this authority they erected a High Court of Justice, consisting of a hundred and thirty-five commissioners, who were assembled in Westminster Hall on the 19th of January 1649, and at its portentous bar Charles, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, was arraigned as a

criminal guilty of treason. He loftily denied the authority of the court, and refused to answer, upon which the trial went on, and witnesses were examined. On the seventh day of the trial, the king still refusing to plead, sentence of death was pronounced against him, and he was led from the bar through the hall, amidst shouts, and outcries of "Justice! Execution!" Foreign courts looked breathlessly on at these proceedings; the royalists felt as if they slept under a nightmare, instead of moving in a mid-day reality; and as for Charles himself, he believed even to the last that his judges would not dare to bring him to the block, but would have recourse to assassination. But little did he even yet understand the spirit under which they acted. In his trial and sentence, they invited the world to look on, and history to record their proceedings to all ages; and in the fact of his execution, they gloried even upon the scaffold to which the daring deed ultimately consigned them.

Three days after the trial of Charles had ended, the sentence of the court was executed. If he knew not how to reign, as his whole administration had evinced, his last moments showed that at least he knew how to die. He was led from the palace of St James's to Whitehall, in front of which was the scaffold, guarded on every side by troops of horse and foot, and surrounded by an immense throng of silent spectators. As the crowd was too distant to hear his parting words, he addressed them briefly to the gentlemen standing on the scaffold, justifying the part he had taken, thus evidencing his despotic spirit to the last; but withal expressing his forgiveness of those who had deposed and brought him hither. When he was ready to lay his head upon the block, Bishop Juxon, who attended him, said, "You have now but one stage more: the stage is turbulent and troublesome, but it is a short one; it will soon carry you a very great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible, to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can be." His head was severed from his body at one blow by the executioner, who was masked; and his assistant, who was also masked, held it up with the exclamation, "This is the head of a traitor!" A universal groan from that vast multitude was the only reply.



## CHAPTER XXXV.

Prince Charles proclaimed in Scotland and Ireland—Cromwell subdues Ireland—Unsuccessful invasion of Scotland by Montrose—Arrival of Charles II.—Cromwell invades Scotland—Routs the Scots at Dunbar—Charles crowned at Scoone—Routed at Worcester—State of Scotland during the Protectorship—Monk marches to England—The Restoration,

A. D. 1649 to A. D. 1660.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Louis XIV.	Philip IV.	Ferdinand III. Leopold II.	Innocent X. Alexander VII

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1652. War for the first time between the English and Dutch.
- 1653. The Dutch defeated at sea by Monk in July 30.
- 1654. Jamaica won for the English by Admiral Penn.
- 1654. Christina queen of Sweden resigns her crown.

WHATEVER might be the grief or horror of the English at the execution of Charles I., it was fully responded by the Scottish nation at large. The event paralyzed them. Accustomed though they had been to revolt against their sovereigns, and frequent as had been the instances of their kings brought to a violent end, the deliberate manner in which the English had gone to work, the trial at Westminster and the scaffold at Whitehall, were startling novelties which they could not comprehend. The parliament had violated every pledge, not only in bringing him to the block, but by their abjuration of the kingly government, and the substitution of a republic; and now that they were modelled anew, and backed by the whole power of the army, those wild sectarian principles would predominate, to which Presbytery and the Covenant were equally opposed. The spiritual and civil rights of Scotsmen, their national church and their liberty, were equally on the point of extinction by the change. This was not to be endured by a whole nation that had held its own for centuries. The English royalists might sit down and weep, for they were utterly broken and helpless; but as for themselves, they had not only deeper interests yet at stake, but greater power to vindicate them.

Under these considerations, they felt that they must im-

mediately be up and doing. The eldest son of their late sovereign, Charles prince of Wales, was still at liberty, although a fugitive, and living in exile at the Hague; and him therefore they selected as the fittest representative of the monarchic principle, and natural heir of his father's throne. Accordingly, on the 5th of February 1649, the day after the mournful tidings of the execution had arrived, they proclaimed him king at the cross of Edinburgh, with the usual formalities. But even amidst this deep sympathy for his unfortunate father, and devotedness to their political principles, they were not forgetful of their beloved church, and the professions with which they had carried their banners into England. In the same proclamation, therefore, that announced Charles II. as king, it was expressly stipulated that before receiving the crown, he should guarantee the security of religion, according to the terms of the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant.

While the young prince was thus proclaimed in Scotland, the same office was performed in Ireland by the Marquis of Ormond, so that the royal exile had two offers of restoration at one and the same time, while each country invited him to come over, and place himself at its head. But to the sovereign-elect it seemed only a choice of difficulties. Like his father, he hated Presbyterianism and the Covenant; and therefore, when the Scottish commissioners proposed the national conditions, which were, that he should subscribe the Covenant, and dismiss from office and council all who were opposed to it, he refused to consent, and the treaty was broken off. Ireland, his only remaining stake, was equally unacceptable; for in such a country, the royal office could bring him nothing but a life of danger, struggle, and privation, a career the most revolting to his epicurean tastes and habits. But even this unpromising alternative did not long remain within his reach. Cromwell, resolute to reduce that country to submission, landed near Dublin on the 15th of August, at the head of only six thousand foot, and three thousand cavalry. With so small a force, he addressed himself to a task which all the monarchs of England since the days of Henry II. had been unable to accomplish—and he accomplished it in ten short months. When he landed, little more than Dublin and Derry were in the hands of the Protestants, and under the controul of Parliament. But town after town was rapidly reduced by his attacks, and the Irish royalist

armies wherever they appeared, were defeated and scattered, so that at the end of his short stay, no part of Ireland was left to the new king, but the towns of Limerick and Waterford, and a few insignificant garrisons.

His hopes of Ireland being thus extinguished, prince Charles was obliged to turn his attention more seriously than he had yet done to the prospect of Scottish aid. Still, however, the conditions with which it was coupled were so unpalatable, that he was anxious to elude them ; and thinking that the royalists of Scotland alone, without the aid of their more rigid countrymen, might be sufficient to replace him on the ancient throne of his fathers, he sent over the Marquis of Montrose to prepare the way for his unconditional restoration. An expedition so daring was completely suited to such a knight-errant of monarchy, who landed with a few hundred foreign soldiers at Orkney in the spring of 1650. Being there joined by a few recruits, he passed over to Caithness, intending to penetrate into the Highlands, rally his former followers, and resume that singular career of adventure in which he had formerly been so successful. But the Committee of Estates were too well aware of his activity to give him time to rally ; and having sent against him their general, Strachan, the latter moved so rapidly, that he came upon the Marquis by surprise, just as his troops had cleared the pass of Invercarron, on the borders of Ross. The battle was furious but soon concluded ; after gallantly repelling the first attack, the followers of Montrose were overpowered, and their leader, after escaping from the field, was betrayed to the pursuers, by a false friend to whom he repaired for shelter. He was brought to Edinburgh ; and as his former deeds, with his attainder in 1644, made a fresh trial unnecessary, he was condemned upon his former sentence, and in the middle of May, hanged upon a gallows thirty feet high. Thus perished a man whom Cardinal du Retz proclaimed a hero fit for the pages of Plutarch ; yet amidst our sympathy for his disgraceful end, we cannot lose sight of the ambition and cruelty that provoked it.

Not only was the choice of Charles now limited to Scotland, but to its covenanters, with whom he again entered into treaty ; and although there is ground to believe, that already he had secretly become a papist, he made no scruple of acceding to their demands, and engaging to subscribe the covenant. Even thus early, promises and oaths cost him nothing, and he was surrounded by counsellors who

would have overruled his scruples, had he been so conscientious as to hesitate. He therefore left Breda with the Scottish commissioners, and landed at the mouth of the Spey on the 23d of June 1650, only one month after the execution of his precursor, Montrose. On his arrival in Edinburgh, the streets blazed with bonfires, and rang with the peal of bells and the blare of trumpets: the people had got not only a Stuart, but a covenanted king to reign over them. But amidst all this triumph, a storm gathered, and was advancing. No sooner had the English parliament heard of the agreement between Charles and the Scots, than they resolved to prevent an invasion of England, and for this purpose Cromwell was sent against them, in the hope that he would be as successful as he had been in his Irish expedition. Six days after Charles landed at the Spey, the English commander left London; and on crossing the Scottish border, he issued a proclamation to his army, in which, among other prohibitions, none of his soldiers was to offer injury to the property of any Scot not in arms against them. But this precaution on the part of Cromwell was superfluous, for the Scots, after their old fashion, had so effectually swept the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh, that the English troops could neither find plunder nor subsistence. Being supplied from their ships which had been sent to Dunbar, they advanced till they came within sight of Edinburgh, encountering no enemy but famine; for the Scots kept stubbornly within their trenches until the English retreated, when they showed themselves in full force, and followed close upon their tract, watching the opportunity for a successful onset. This was a new kind of warfare to Cromwell and his Ironsides, who on reaching Dunbar, embarked their sick and heavy luggage, and resolved to fight their way to England as they best could. It was a perilous effort, for they were now reduced to twelve thousand hunger-worn men, while David Leslie with twenty-seven thousand well-provided soldiers, occupied the country between Dunbar and Berwick, ready to intercept them. Besides this superiority of numbers, the Scottish troops were posted so advantageously on the hills, that they could not be attacked but at the most imminent hazard. But here the rashness of the Scots, as on many former occasions, belied the prudence with which they had commenced the campaign; and on Monday the 1st of September, they came down from their advantageous position, to give battle on the plains. No sooner did Cromwell perceive this move-

ment, than he exultingly exclaimed, "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" The conflict was desperate; regiments and squadrons reeled to and fro as they encountered hand to hand, and portions of the field were alternately lost and won, the numbers of the Scottish party being balanced by the veteran firmness and discipline of the English. While all was thus in even scale, a fog which had obscured the more remote parts of the battle, cleared away; the sun broke out, so that the whole field was visible; and Cromwell, feeling that now the advantage was his own, shouted, "Let God arise, and his enemies be scattered!" His admirable disposition and bold attacks were crowned with their wonted success: four thousand of the Scots were slain, ten thousand taken prisoners, while two hundred colours, fifteen thousand stand of arms, and all their luggage and artillery fell into the hands of the conquerors. Following this victory, Cromwell turned back to Edinburgh, which he entered without resistance; Glasgow soon after submitted; and nothing remained to oppose him, but the castle of Edinburgh, which was shortly afterwards rendered.

In the mean time, the young sovereign for whom all these dangers were encountered, was daily showing himself more unworthy of the sacrifice. The levity of his manners, so unseasonable at such a period, and so unsuited to the tempers of those who were perilling their all for his sake; his libertine practices and contempt of religion, had equally shocked the worldly-prudent and the pious; while the honest rebukes of the clergy, instead of reforming, only hardened him in his excesses. He thus learned to hate the strictness of presbyterianism, and store up lessons of future vengeance: it is even said, that he rejoiced at the havoc of Dunbar, although so fatal to his own interests, because there, the most zealous of his monitors had been silenced. This feeling of dislike was so strong, that he resolved to escape from them, let the hazard be what it might. Accordingly, under pretence of hawking, he soon after left Perth with a few attendants, and made for the hills like a runaway schoolboy, intending to escape to the Highlands, and at the head of the mountain royalists continue the war independently of presbyter or puritan, as the gallant Montrose had done. As well might he have attempted the labours of Hercules! He was followed and found not far on his way among the hills, asleep in a wretched hut, surrounded by a body guard of sixty or seventy Highland gillies, and brought back without much difficulty. Even

after this offensive escapade, the Scots proceeded to his coronation, which was performed at Scoone on the 1st of January 1651. Their generosity on this occasion has been instanced as an act of utter madness: for what affection could they entertain for such a sovereign? what trust could they repose in his government? But in their justification it must be remembered, that it was the *principle* of monarchy for which the Scottish presbyterians were contending, and not the mere monarch; and that they honestly believed in the divine origin of kingship, without assenting to the doctrine of the divine right of kings. In rejecting Charles, therefore, in consequence either of his faults or his follies, they would have belied the religious principles in which they had been educated, the covenants to which they had sworn, and the professions with which they had entered England in arms, and taken part in the civil war. Equally opposed to the republicanism of the sectaries and the absolutism of the episcopalians, they were the champions and martyrs of that limited monarchy which is now the great principle of the British constitution.

These political doctrines, so little in favour with their enemies, called them once more into the field. From the rout of Dunbar, Leslie, with the remains of his army, fell back, until he reached Stirling, where he posted his troops so advantageously, that Cromwell found it unsafe to attack them. After endeavouring to tempt them to another engagement, but in vain, the English general resolved to starve them from their strong position, and with this view, took possession of Perth, by which he could intercept all supplies from the Highlands. The Scots soon found their place untenable; but warned of the dangers of another fight, they conceived the daring idea of making a dash into England, and there renewing the war with the aid of the English royalists. With the king, who had now taken command of the army, at their head, they commenced their southward march, and conducted it with such rapidity, that Cromwell could not overtake them until they reached Worcester, where he brought them to action on the 3d of September (1651), the same day on which the battle of Dunbar had been fought the year previous. The Scots, although inferior in numbers, fought long and gallantly, but at last were utterly routed; and Charles, after undergoing a series of romantic adventures and hair-breadth escapes, in skulking from place to place among the midland counties

of England, at last embarked at Shoreham on the coast of Sussex, in a coal-bark, and reached France in safety.

After the affair of Worcester, which Cromwell termed his "crowning mercy," he left his favourite, General Monk, to complete the reduction of the royalists in Scotland, a task which that skilful soldier and politician accomplished with great ability. The more completely also to unite the country with England under the new republican government, eight commissioners were sent down, to adjust with the Scottish Estates the terms of what they called an "incorporation," which the Scots were compelled to accept, as a victorious English army was in the heart of the kingdom, and had possession of its forts, castles, and sea-coasts. Thus, Scotland now formed a part of the united Commonwealth, as it had so lately done of the united kingdom of Great Britain. This new conquest of the country, if such it may be called, was of signal benefit to the people. The arts of life were improved by the example of the English soldiers, the dissensions of the church were stilled by their neighbourhood, and the national trade and commerce received a new impulse. Such also was still more effectually the case when Cromwell, after having obtained the direction of the government, under the title of Protector, made the whole island at peace with itself, and honoured among the nations of Europe. The religious and moral condition of Scotland at this period cannot be better described, than in the simple language of the old historian Kirkton. "I verily believe," he says, "there were more souls converted to Christ in that short period of time, than in any season since the reformation, though of triple its duration. Nor was there ever greater purity and plenty of the means of grace. Ministers were painful, people were diligent. So, truly, religion was at that time in very good case, and the Lord present in Scotland, though in a cloud." He gives the following more express account of the state of matters at the restoration: "At the king's return, every parish had a minister, every village had a school, every family almost had a Bible—yea, in most of the country, all the children of age could read the Scriptures, and were provided of Bibles either by their parents or ministers. Every minister was a very full professor of the reformed religion, according to the large Confession of Faith framed at Westminster. None of them might be scandalous in their conversation, or negligent in their office, so long as a presbytery stood. I have lived many years in a parish, where I never heard an

oath, and you might have ridden many miles before you heard any. Also, you could not for a greater part of the country, have lodged in a family, where the Lord was not worshipped by reading, singing, and public prayer. Nobody complained more of our church government than our taverners; whose ordinary lamentation was, their trade was broke, people were become so sober."

On the death of Oliver Cromwell, which occurred on the 3d of September 1658, all this peace and prosperity was suddenly brought to a close. His eldest son Richard, whom he had named as his successor in his last moments, succeeded to the Protectorship; but it was soon evident that the master-spirit by which the able had been directed, and the proud controlled, had taken its departure. A scramble ensued among his chief officers, as at the death of Alexander the Great, and the bold leaders both of the army and parliament commenced a competition for the chief place, in the turmoil of which, the new Protector was glad to abdicate, after he had held his seat only a few months. His gentle amiable temper was unfitted for the emergency, and during a long life spent afterwards in his farm and among his books, he enjoyed that happiness which he had given a throne to purchase. On his retirement, the conflict became more intense, during which the rival candidates turned their eyes towards Scotland, where Monk was at the head of an army strong enough to turn the scale. But that cautious and selfish soldier had his own game to play. The sectaries, hitherto held together by the grasp of Cromwell, were divided; the soldiery, deprived of their victorious leader, would soon merge into ordinary citizens; while the royalists, who were by far the majority, as they comprised both the presbyterian and episcopal persuasions, would soon recover the ascendancy. Monk, indeed, might have seized for himself that tempting honour for which all were contending; but as its tenure, under such circumstances, would be both brief and dangerous, he resolved to content himself with the less showy, but more certain rewards that fall to the share of a king-maker. The wariness of his proceedings, was equal to that of his choice. He returned such favourable answers to the candidates, as kept them inactive, from expectation, while he secretly negotiated with Charles and his exiled court at Breda, and settled the plan of the restoration. When all was ready, he commenced his march southward, his army being greatly reinforced by Scottish presbyterians, while he disarmed all



opposition by his republican professions, declaring that his only purpose was to compose the troubles of the commonwealth, and restore the deposed parliament. Under this guise, he was enabled to establish his army in London, and confirm that stillness among all parties, which his doubtful proceedings had occasioned. Such a state was favourable to the spirit of loyalty, which revived and strengthened every hour; and all parties, except the independents, expressed their longing for a settled order of things, which, they thought, could only be effected by the re-establishment of monarchy. In the mean time, the silent and mysterious Monk having been appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces of the three kingdoms, was enabled to complete his treaty with Charles: and the offer of the latter, commonly called the "Declaration of Breda," in which he offered indemnity for the past, and liberty of conscience for the future, was gladly accepted. It would have been well for Britain, during that generation at least, if something more specific than these vague declarations had been demanded. Such also was the opinion of the wise and the good; but the expression of their wishes was stilled in the overwhelming plaudits of three nations, who, like the Israelites of old, were willing on any terms to have a king to rule over them. The result was, that Charles II. was proclaimed at the gate of Westminster Hall on the 8th of May 1660; and on the 25th of the same month, he landed at Dover, and made a triumphant march to the capital. And never was king received with a more cordial or clamorous welcome: it was as if Britain had suddenly started from sleep, and been eager to proclaim that the troubles of the past had been but a dream.

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

Moral effects of the Restoration—Its consequences to the Church of Scotland—Execution of the Marquis of Argyle—Of James Guthrie—Episcopacy restored—Sharp appointed Archbishop of St Andrews—Middleton's administration—Ejection of ministers by the Act of Glasgow—Drag-net of the Bishops—Rising at Pentland—Execution of Hugh M'Kail.

A.D. 1660 to A.D. 1666.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Louis XIV.	Philip IV. Charles II.	Leopold I.	Alexander VII.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1662. Royal Society of England instituted.
- 1662. Dunkirk sold by Charles II. to France.
- 1665. Great Plague of London.
- 1666. Great Fire of London.

THE popular reaction in favour of monarchical rule was soon distinguished by moral consequences the most pernicious. A grave composed demeanour and correspondent conduct, the strict cultivation of social and domestic virtue, and an earnest profession of the sanctities of religion, were now condemned as republican, and watched as tokens of sedition and discontent. The puritans were the enemies of kingly rule, and all or any of these characteristics betrayed their owner as a puritan. No surer signs of loyalty were desired, than riotous excess and worthless conversation; and thus, a desperate oath became the shibboleth of a true man, a licentious intrigue or drunken brawl the stamp of right-hearted citizenship. Absurd and revolting as were these distinctions of the royalist, they had commenced with the late civil war, and been cultivated in the camp of Charles I. himself, whose whole character was opposed to such excesses; but under the example of his profligate successor, and the riotous courtiers who returned with him from exile, the evil burst out in full vigour, until it overspread both England and Scotland, like a national characteristic. It was long after Charles II. slept with his fathers, that an evil compared with which the disasters and political degradation of his reign were of light account, could be arrested, and its progress stayed.

A Restoration like this was evidently most ominous to

the safety of the Scottish church: its doctrines on the limitations of kingly authority, and its stern moral requirements from men of every rank, were at open war with the spirit that now prevailed. The new king, also, was not of a temper to forget the presbyterian restraints under which he had been so rebellious during his brief reign in Scotland. The selection of persons for the management of Scottish affairs quickly realised the worst fears of the thoughtful. The earl, afterwards Duke of Lauderdale, was appointed secretary, the Earl of Glencairn treasurer; the Earl of Rothes was made president of council, and Middleton commissioner of parliament. Already it had been determined by the king and his chief adviser the Earl of Clarendon, to restore episcopacy in Scotland, and these worthless rulers were chosen from their well-known subserviency to the royal pleasure. The first parliament held in Edinburgh after the restoration, was accordingly packed for the purpose by the Earl of Glencairn, and after all those members who might have opposed their measures were intimidated or excluded, it was opened with unwonted splendour by the Earl of Middleton as commissioner, in January 1661. Here, the royal prerogative was restored, and raised to the highest mark contemplated in the two previous reigns—the right of nominating to all civil offices; the right of peace and war, and the command of the militia; the right of summoning conventions, parliaments, and public assemblies. Even the religious duty of renewing the covenant could not be exercised without obtaining the royal permission. In short, the king's supremacy in all cases civil and ecclesiastical, and over all persons, was established, and every act of resistance proclaimed high treason. Thus all for which Charles I. had laboured in vain through years of intrigue and bloodshed, was settled at a few successive meetings, and by a series of sweeping decrees. It was a mad parliament, in which most of the members were generally intoxicated; even Middleton himself, the representative of royalty, was sometimes so drunk, that he could not sit upon the throne; and the chief intervals of sobriety were shown in trying those who had been concerned in the late war, valuing their forfeited estates, and calculating their own share of the spoil. At last, growing tired of rescinding one by one the acts of former parliaments by which the second reformation of Scotland had been accomplished, they negatived by wholesale all parliaments themselves that had been held since 1633, as disloyal, unconstitutional, and of no force.

By this frantic decision, all confidence even in the abstract principle of government was destroyed, uncertainty and anarchy were restored in their wildest state, and the whole labour of achieving civil and religious liberty was to be undergone anew.

Decisions like these were inevitable preparatives for the scaffold: they were death-sentences to the brave-hearted, the pious, and the free; and the first victim selected by the assembly at its close, was the highest in station and renown, the Marquis of Argyle. This able and patriotic nobleman had been among the foremost in recalling Charles to Scotland, and had presided at his coronation at Scoone—but he had also required the young king's subscription of the covenant, and was the leader of the Scottish presbyterians. He was arraigned upon fourteen charges, as a traitor to the late king, the author of the principal commotions in Scotland during the civil war, and an ally of Cromwell against the royalist interests during the late usurpation. These were charges under which most of his judges might themselves have been impanneled; but his chief and real offence consisted in his large estates, which Middleton had resolved to appropriate. It was in vain therefore that the marquis justified his political conduct by arguments that could not be refuted: he was sentenced to die the death of a traitor, and his head to replace that of Montrose, at the end of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. On hearing his sentence, he said, "I had the honour to set the crown upon the king's head, and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own; nor can you deprive me of that eternal indemnity which you may require yourselves." He went to the scaffold in the same spirit, saying to the friends who accompanied him thither: "I could die like a Roman, but choose rather to die as a Christian."

The next victim was James Guthrie, minister of Stirling. The crimes of which he was accused, were the declension of the royal authority in ecclesiastical matters in 1651, his authorship of a work entitled "Causes of God's wrath," and his subscription to a remonstrance on the 23d of August 1660. But although so much time had elapsed since the commission of most of these offences, which after all he proved to be neither seditious nor treasonable, and although he had been a fearless royalist during the whole administration of Cromwell, when so many who were now in high places had truckled and taken authority under the protector, his unanswerable appeals were in vain. He was even be-

fore trial a convicted and sentenced man, for in 1650 he had pronounced sentence of excommunication against Middleton by command of the General Assembly, an offence which the commissioner was now eager to revenge. Guthrie was accordingly pronounced guilty of high treason, and sentenced to be executed at the Cross of Edinburgh on the first of June 1661, five days after the execution of Middleton's other victim, the Marquis of Argyle. Although he was so worn with infirmity and disease that he had to support his tottering steps with a staff, he repaired to the place of martyrdom with alacrity. On the scaffold, he said in his dying speech to the spectators: "I take God to record upon my soul, that I would not exchange the scaffold with the palace or mitre of the greatest prelate in Britain." A moment before the executioner performed his office, Guthrie raised the napkin from his face, and cried in a loud triumphant voice: "The covenants, the covenants shall yet be Scotland's reviving!"

The royal supremacy in things spiritual having been established by the Scottish parliament, the restoration of episcopacy was a natural consequence. Charles had already declared that presbyterianism was not a fit religion for gentlemen; his hatred of the Church of Scotland in particular was no secret; and in Clarendon, his chancellor, a disciple of the school of Laud, he had a fit adviser in all his designs for its overthrow. Lauderdale also, who although secretary for Scotland, remained in London, that he might possess the ear of the king, was equally ready to co-operate in the work. But a more mischievous instrument than either, was James Sharp, minister of Crail, who at the restoration had been sent by the Scottish ministers to London, to negotiate their cause and watch over the interests of the church. This man, from his talents for business, his plausible manners, and high pretensions to piety, was implicitly trusted by his brethren: the English statesman, however, soon detected his character, and tampered with his ambition so successfully, that for the bribe of the Scottish primacy, he entered with his whole heart into their designs. But so effectually did he continue to wear the mask, that on his return to Scotland, none suspected his sincerity except Robert Douglas, minister of Edinburgh, a man of profound sagacity and experience. To him Sharp repaired on his arrival, and after glozing upon the state of matters at court in reference to those of the church, he expressed his conviction that the king would establish episco-

pacy, and advised Mr Douglas to accept the Archbishopric of St Andrews, lest a worse person should be appointed in his stead. Douglas at once detected the apostate, and asked him what he would do, if the offer should be made to himself. Sharp hesitated, shuffled in his reply, and hastily rose to depart. "James," said Mr Douglas, laying a heavy hand upon the recreant's shoulder: "I see you will conform, I see you will be Archbishop of St Andrews: take it, and the curse of God with it."

After this admonitory interview, Sharp returned to London, but it was to receive episcopal consecration from the English prelates to the archbishopric for which he had sold himself. Thither also repaired Andrew Fairfoul, James Hamilton, and Robert Leighton, who like himself were willing to conform to the change: and all four were consecrated on the 12th of December (1661), with great solemnity, in Westminster Abbey; after which they were sent home in a sort of triumphal procession, where they commenced their apostolic labours by a series of rich banquets and solemn carousals with the officers of state. It is right, however, to mention, that the pious Leighton, shocked with such unhallowed revelry, forsook them, and retired to his diocese of Dumblane. Six other presbyters were soon afterwards converted into bishops, a fact that indicates how much the spirit of treachery was already spreading in the Scottish church. On these new prelates being received at the second session of parliament which met in May 1662, ecclesiastical affairs were settled in a way that the most loyal heart could wish: the authority of church courts was annulled, the covenants were repealed as unlawful, and every opposition to episcopal government was condemned as seditious. These, and other equally despotic proceedings, signalised the entrance of the bishops, who now took their places in parliament as the third estate of the realm. Oaths of obligation and oaths of abjuration were multiplied to an extent that threatened to crush at least one-half of the nation, or involve it in the sin of perjury. The promised act of indemnity and oblivion which had been the condition of the restoration of Charles, and which already was established in England, was brought forward last of all; but in the hands of this selfish parliament, instead of being a boon, it was but the bitterness and the mockery of a broken promise. The impoverished royalists were hungering for money and estates, without being scrupulous as to the mode of obtaining them, and therefore those who had in any way

been concerned in the late rebellion, as it was called, were obliged to compound for their offences by fine and confiscation. In making out the list of their victims also, no regard was had either to the innocence of the parties, or their ignorance of the charge, so that of such persons alone, nine hundred were set down in the fatal scroll, whose fines amounted to eighty-five thousand pounds. It mattered not even if the parties were abroad, or still in infancy; their lands were stationary, and their rentals were good subjects of reprisal. But just when Middleton and his minions were ready to seize upon the spoil, the career of this fierce profligate was arrested. Still anxious to secure the estates of the Marquis of Argyle, though his son Lord Lorn had succeeded to them through the royal favour, Middleton caused Lorn to be tried upon a frivolous charge, and would have brought him to his father's end, had not the other secured the intercession of the Earl of Lauderdale. Thus disappointed, but still bent upon plunder, Middleton caused an act to be passed prohibiting all intercession for the children of those attainted in parliament, and incapacitating them for restoration to their titles and estates. These arrogant proceedings gave his enemy Lauderdale such an advantage over him, as enabled him to displace the commissioner and succeed to his office.

But before his departure, Middleton took a step by which he outdid all his former evils. As if it had not been enough that the church courts were closed, Sharp and his coadjutors were indignant that the ministers should still continue to occupy their pulpits without acknowledging the authority of the prelates; and to procure this submission, diocesan courts were erected, having the bishops to preside in them, which the presbyters were required to attend, on pain of being prosecuted as contemners of the king. As it was obvious that compulsion would be necessary to procure such attendance, Middleton made a tour through the west country for that purpose, revelling with his followers upon the journey, in the style of Comus and his drunken rabble, as described by the immortal poet of that age. On arriving at Glasgow, Fairfoul the archbishop complained, that in spite of the proclamation, not one of the ministers had acknowledged his authority. To correct this, he proposed an act by which all ministers admitted since 1649 should be ejected from their charges and livings, unless they obtained presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop, before the 1st of November. This mad proposal, by which

patronage and episcopacy were to be established in one breath, was agreed to by a council reeling under the fumes of wine. The archbishop had confidently declared, that not even ten dissentients would be found so self-denying as to abandon their stipends. But how little could his worldly wisdom gauge the consciences of the good and holy ! When the season of trial arrived, nearly four hundred abandoned their all, and threw themselves with their families upon the world, rather than forsake a cause to which their souls were so solemnly pledged. Their places were hastily supplied by men without learning, character, or station, who were willing to undertake the ministerial office for which they cared not, and discharge duties of which they were wholly ignorant, for the tempting emoluments of manse, glebe, and stipend. A country gentleman complained on this occasion, that he could not get a lad to keep his cows—they were all turning ministers. The dispossessed, reduced to the condition of apostles, continued still to preach, and their labours were attended by the apostolic blessing. In private houses, in barns, and among the fields, their ministry was thronged by a willing people, to whom truth came with double power proceeding as it did from the lips of martyrdom ; and throughout the west country those conventicles began to arise, in which the presbyterian spirit was to be nursed into fresh hardihood, and prepared for future conflict and triumph.

The removal of Middleton and succession of Lauderdale, seemed only a change from a bad to a worse ruler : having been formerly a presbyterian, the new commissioner showed all that relentless malignity towards the cause he had abandoned, which none but an apostate can exhibit, while in Archbishop Sharp, he found a congenial associate by whom his cruelties were encouraged. One of their first measures was against those field meetings or conventicles now frequent in the west of Scotland, and formidable from the numbers that attended them. An act was therefore passed, by which ejected or silenced ministers still continuing to preach, were to be visited with the penalties of sedition. Landholders also refusing to attend their parish church, were to forfeit a fourth part of their rental ; tenants and citizens guilty of the like offence, were to be fined in a fourth part of their property, besides losing their rights of trade and corporation, and being subject to whatever personal punishment the privy council might be pleased to decree. This sweeping act was called the *drag-net* of the bishops, who pro-



ceeded to cast it with merciless activity. Having formed themselves into a Court of Commission which, like a Spanish Inquisition, judged and punished independently of accuser, witness, or defence, they soon filled the gaols with the poor, and their own coffers with the fines of the rich ; and when these inflictions were found insufficient, the secular arm was summoned, and the military let loose upon the recusants. Their chief instrument on this occasion was Sir James Turner, a soldier of fortune, and once a presbyterian, but an unprincipled man, ready to sell his sword to the highest bidder. To him the intruded ministers presented lists of those who failed to attend the parish churches, whom Sir James fined without further examination, and quartered soldiers upon them till the money was paid. Landlords too were responsible not merely for themselves but their tenants, and tenants for their masters, so that whatever party might escape pursuit, the soldiers were always sure of billeting and booty.

It was not to be supposed that such a state of things could long continue. The land was exposed not merely to the penalties of rebellion, but the degradation of conquest : the people were not only impoverished by a hungry soldiery, who devoured their substance, but subjected to all the insult and cruelty which these military tyrants could inflict, countenanced by their officers, and hounded on by an approving priesthood. An accident that occurred in November 1666, produced the inevitable explosion. Four men, who had been driven from their homes by the oppressors, came down from their lurking-holes to the village of Dalry, in quest of food. There they found some soldiers in the act of stripping a poor old man, with the intention of stretching him on a red-hot gridiron, because he could not pay his church fines. After beseeching the soldiers to desist, but in vain, a conflict took place in which one of the military was wounded. The four peasants who had so humanely exposed themselves to danger, were soon joined by others ; and as instant action was necessary in self-defence, they marched to Dumfries, where they surprised Sir James Turner, whose life they spared, on finding by an examination of his papers, that his cruelties had even fallen short of the orders of the prelates. When the insurgents reached Lanark, they amounted to two thousand men ; but this force, instead of increasing, was reduced to less than a half before they came nigh Edinburgh. Here, the gates of the capital were closed against them, while General Dalziel

who had hastened from Glasgow, was upon their track ; upon which, faint with hunger and marching, and disappointed in their hopes of a general rising, they retreated to the Pentland Hills, and took up their position at a place called Rullion Green. They were soon overtaken by Dalziel, at the head of a superior body of cavalry, and routed, after a gallant resistance, in which they successfully repelled several attacks, although imperfectly armed and officered. About fifty of their number were killed in the conflict, and an hundred and thirty taken prisoners. These last had surrendered on promise of their lives being spared ; but they were handed over to the prelates and their assessors, in whose eyes military promises were not worth notice. The greater part of them were brought to trial, of whom, twenty were executed in Edinburgh, and thirty-five throughout the country. Sharp, whose craven spirit had fainted within him at the first tidings of the outbreak, so that he fled to the castle for safety, made the culprits pay dearly for the terrors into which they had thrown him. As if even death also had not been punishment enough, torture was added to wring confession from his victims ; and the *boot*, an instrument well known in Europe not only during the Roman empire, but the middle ages, and the use of which had been discontinued for many years in Scotland, was renewed, in which the leg of the prisoner was gradually compressed and crushed together, until he assented in his agony to whatever questions were propounded.

One instance among many in which this terrible instrument was used, will best explain the nature of the torture and the character of the tormentors, as well as the heroic spirit of the martyr sufferers. Hugh M'Kail, a young preacher twenty-six years old, of gentle amiable manners, high talent, and fervent piety, and whom Sharp cordially hated, had been for a few days only with the insurgents, being obliged to leave them in consequence of sickness before the affair of Pentland. He was tried as an accomplice in the rising ; and the judges being anxious to exaggerate this accidental event into a deeply-devised plot of rebellion, were dissatisfied with his answers, although he told them all he knew, so that the Earl of Rothes, who presided at the council, ordered the boot to be applied. The instrument, composed of four pieces of narrow board, nailed together and hooped with iron, was instantly produced ; the leg of the young man was enclosed within it ; and wedges being inserted between the limb and the boards, were driven

down at each interrogatory, by the heavy mall of the executioner. Again and again was he questioned about a conspiracy that had never existed ; and although he solemnly protested that he knew no more than he had already told them, the mall continued to descend at slow intervals, until his leg was frightly crushed and shattered by eleven strokes. He was then sentenced to death for having joined the insurgents. "How do you feel your mangled leg?" said a sympathising friend, who visited him in prison. With a playful smile, which even suffering and the prospect of death could not extinguish, M'Kail replied, "The fear of my neck makes me forget my leg." On the scaffold, he mounted the ladder with the declaration, that every step brought him nearer heaven, and his dying speech melted the crowd into tears. "And now," he said at the close, "I leave off to speak any more to creatures, and begin my intercourse with God, which shall never be broken off. Farewell father and mother, friends and relations ; farewell the world and all its delights ; farewell meat and drink ; farewell sun, moon, and stars. Welcome God and Father ; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the mediator of the new covenant ; welcome blessed Spirit of grace, the God of all consolation ; welcome glory ; welcome eternal life, and welcome death !"

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

Persecutions after the battle of Pentland—Mitchel's attempt on the life of Sharp—Act of Indulgence—Mitchel's trial and execution—Bonds imposed—Assassination of Sharp—Battle of Drumclog—Battle of Bothwell Bridge—The Cameronians—Torwood excommunication—Duke of York's administration—Trial and death of Baillie of Jerviswood—Death of Charles II.

A.D. 1666 to A.D. 1685.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Russia.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Louis XIV.	Peter the Great.	Charles II.	Leopold I.	Clement IX.
				Clement X.
				Innocent XI.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1669. Candia taken by the Turks.
- 1672. Louis XIV. conquers a large part of Holland.
- 1676. The colony of Carolina planted by the English.
- 1678. The Habeas Corpus Act passed in England.
- 1683. Vienna relieved, and the Turks defeated by John Sobieski.

THE executions that followed the rising of Pentland, so far from satisfying the revengeful spirit of the Scottish rulers, only seemed to rouse it into fresh activity; and the atrocities of Turner, severe though they had been, were as nothing compared with those of Sir Thomas Dalziel of the Binns, who now ruled with a rod of iron over the west of Scotland. This man, whose military career had been chiefly spent in Russia against the Turks and Tartars, had acquired, among the savages of Europe, a ferocity of which even savages would have been ashamed. His own country was now to reap the fruits of his training; and his barbarities were so revolting, as to be incredible, but for the lasting effects they entailed upon Scotland, and the historical fidelity with which they have been recorded. Men were executed upon the highway without trial, or brutally tortured to betray the hiding-places of their companions. Even women were subjected to the same terrible ordeal, and in cases also, where they are treated by an enemy with sympathy and respect. One who had aided her husband's escape from the pursuers, by disguising him in a suit of her own clothes, was tortured, by having lighted matches tied between her fingers for several hours, until one of her hands was destroyed, so that she died in a few days. The houses of the peaceable were garrisoned by a soldiery to whom

spoliation and even murder were familiar ; the gaols were filled with prisoners, stripped, and huddled together in crowds, amidst filth, privation, and pestilence, from which they were only released by being shipped as slaves to the West India plantations. In those cases also where cruelty was abated, it was only that avarice might be glutted in its stead. In this way, Dalziel, Drummond, and other chief officers enriched themselves with estates, and the common soldiers with the produce of farms and cottages, while the principle upon which this was done was sometimes avowed without a blush. "For what am I to be fined?" said a farmer to Sir William Bannatyne, his judge. "Because," replied the other coolly, "you have gear, and I must have a part of it."

It was only by events of national disaster and disgrace that this shameful career was interrupted. Charles II., the dishonoured pensionary of France, had entered at the bidding of Louis XIV. into a naval war with the Dutch, as the price of his unkingly wages, and fared as his meanness deserved ; for the Dutch entered the Thames in triumph, destroyed Sheerness, and humbled the glorious sea-flag of our island, as it never had been before. These events, combined with the disgrace and banishment of Clarendon, the chief prop of episcopacy in Scotland, introduced more lenient measures into the royal council, in consequence of which Archbishop Sharp, and his merciless coadjutor the Earl of Rothes, were removed from office, and milder successors placed in their room. Unfortunately, an attempt upon the life of Sharp himself, in June 1668, interrupted this tranquillity, and gave a colour of justice to the persecutions that were afterwards renewed. One James Mitchel, a presbyterian student, who regarded the archbishop not only as an apostate, but his own personal enemy and persecutor in the affair of Pentland, resolved, in the fierce old spirit of Scottish revenge, to despatch his adversary, thinking also that thereby he would do good service to the cause of religion and the church. With a loaded pistol he watched his opportunity in the streets of Edinburgh, and fired at Sharp as he was stepping into his carriage ; but the bishop of Orkney, who followed the primate, received the bullet in his arm, which at that moment he happened to stretch out. After this fool-hardy and infamous attempt, Mitchel coolly crossed the street, and escaped down a lane, no one offering to pursue or intercept him.

As violence and persecution had hitherto failed in sub-

duing the spirit of Scottish Presbyterianism, the process was changed into the milder measures of conciliation. The chief of these was the famous act of indulgence proclaimed in 1669, by which the ejected ministers were permitted to return to their pulpits if still vacant, or to others that would be provided for them, on condition of living peaceably, and forbearing to condemn the changes that had been made in church and state. In addition to this, they were to enjoy the temporalities of manse, glebe, and stipend, by consenting to receive presentation from the patron, and collation from the bishop, and attending the diocesan courts. Forty-two submitted to the first part of the indulgence, and were thus allowed the unmolested liberty of preaching; but very few yielded to the second, tempting although it was, from the compliances with which it was burdened. Even this scanty toleration, however, was offensive to the prelates, until Sharp quieted them with the assurance, that he would make it a snare and a bone of contention to the presbyterians. He was as good as his word. The submission of those pastors who had returned to their spiritual duties by royal sanction was complained of by their brethren as a sacrifice of the highest rights of the church; and at a time when union was of all things the most necessary, the clergy began to divide into two hostile parties, consisting of the indulged and the non-indulged. It was distinctly stated in this act of indulgence, that every pretence for holding conventicles being thus removed, all preachers and hearers of such meetings should be proceeded against with full severity, But the people naturally preferred those ministers who refused for conscience' sake to accept the act; the conventicles in house and field became more numerous than ever; and the pretext for persecuting their adherents, as factious men and rebels, was but the more confirmed. Such was the effect of this notable indulgence, that breathed such a seemingly tolerant spirit, and from which such healing benefits were expected.

Affairs continued in this state of uncertainty and trouble till the commencement of 1678, and from the relentless persecutions which were conducted against field conventicles, these meetings now began to assume a more formidable appearance. Besides being attended by greater numbers than ever, many of the worshippers came armed, and with such precautions of military discipline, as made their military persecutors hover upon their outskirts, or retreat without a blow. But these advantages were terribly retaliated by the

keener persecutions of government, by the more merciless inflictions with which individuals were visited, and the greater amount of confiscation and fine by which whole parishes and districts were impoverished. An event now occurred which sufficiently illustrates the character of those men to whom the government of the country was entrusted. Five years after the attempt to assassinate him, Sharp, whose suspicions had never slept since that period, observed a man keenly eyeing him in the street; and thinking that this was the same person who had formerly attempted his life, he caused him to be instantly arrested. His suspicions were right. Mitchel, for it was no other, on being questioned before the council, maintained a cautious silence. As there was no proof against him but a loaded pistol, which was found in his pocket, while on the other hand the judges were determined, if possible, to involve the whole body of presbyterians in the crime of assassination, he was urged to confess his attempt against the primate, with a solemn assurance, that his life should be spared. He then made a frank confession; and as it plainly appeared that no one had been accessary to the deed, the council were enraged and disappointed. They resolved, however, to wreak their resentment upon the single offender, and for this purpose, required him to renew his confession before a court of judicature; but he warily refused, and for this, was sent to imprisonment in the Bass. After two years' confinement, he was brought out at the instigation of Sharp, questioned by torture about the insurrection of Pentland, and again remanded to prison, until now, that he was again brought by his ruthless persecutor before the judges for a final examination, and condemned to die upon his former confession. It was in vain that he reminded them of their promise that his life should be spared: Lauderdale, Sharp, Rothes, and Hatton, declared that no such promise had been given. He then appealed to the council-books, in which it was inscribed; but aware that this would convict them of perjury, the demand was iniquitously refused, and the prisoner was sent to execution.

It was soon evident from the current of events, that another motive than the establishment of episcopacy directed the proceedings of such rulers. This was, the complete establishment of royal despotism in the person of Charles II., and the succession of his brother, the Duke of York, to the throne. As the latter event was likely to be attended with great difficulty, the duke being an avowed papist, a stand-

ing army would be necessary to quell the general resistance with which such a succession would be encountered ; and the best apology for the maintenance of a large military force was, the necessity of repressing the troubles in Scotland. Rather, therefore, than lose their aim, they must foment those troubles which they otherwise would have striven to repress. This was the secret of their strange government of Scotland. The covenanters must, if possible, be maddened into open rebellion, not only that troops might be levied, but funds exacted to support them. To this motive we are to attribute the bonds into which the landlords of the western counties were now required to enter, pledging themselves that neither their families, domestics, tenants, nor the servants of their tenants, nor any persons whatever residing on their property, should attend conventicles, countenance field preachers, or communicate with those whom the state had condemned. This injunction, by which even the fictions of Eastern despotism were outdone, was more than the landlords could pledge themselves to fulfil, and they refused ; upon which the Duke of Lauderdale, who presided at the council table, bared his arms above the elbows, and swore by Jehovah that he would compel them to enter into these bonds. Accordingly, eight thousand armed Highlanders were summoned from their native mountains, and quartered upon the most fertile parts of Scotland, which they quickly converted into a wilderness ; the poor were robbed of their bread, and the gentry of their horses and weapons ; and to prevent the sufferers from carrying their complaints to London, or escaping from a country in which existence was intolerable, all were prohibited from leaving Scotland without express permission from the council. In spite of this restraint, fourteen peers and fifty gentlemen, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, repaired to court, to lay their grievances before the throne,—and were denied an audience, because they came without the council's leave. The cry of a suffering nation, however, was too loud to be disregarded, and after the Highland Host, as it was termed, had devoured the country for three months, like a locust-cloud, they were sent back to their native hills laden with plunder. But five thousand lowland soldiers were raised and placed in their stead ; the western and southern shires were incessantly traversed by troops kept in training for battle, and private houses in every district were seized, and converted into garrisons. And above all, Lauderdale, the deviser of these tyrannous bonds, was



still retained in office,—a sure pledge to the Scottish people that the hour of mercy or deliverance had not yet arrived.

Although, even with all this excess of provocation, no public insurrection followed, there were indications that resembled the first murmurings of a coming storm. The oppressed were in some instances roused to resistance, and a soldier was occasionally beaten or even slain. But a crowning argument for fresh violence and persecution was unfortunately afforded by the assassination of the Archbishop of St Andrews. That unhappy man, who had been the chief mover of all the late oppression and misrule, and who had pursued his former brethren with a malignity of which even his merciless lay associates were ashamed, had employed a bankrupt merchant, named Carmichael, as his commissioner against the recusants in Fife. This worthless functionary pursued his office in a spirit so worthy of his master, that on the morning of the 3d of May 1679, twelve persons, among whom were some gentlemen of good family, lay in wait for him on Magus Moor, near St Andrews, intending either to put him to death, or inflict on him a severe bodily chastisement. Carmichael did not appear, and they were about to disperse at mid-day, when they were told that the archbishop himself was travelling that way, and would soon be at hand. In their excited state, they looked upon this as the working of providence: their chief enemy, instead of his wretched hireling, was sent into their toils; and they resolved to fulfil the duty that thus appealed to them, by putting him to death. As soon as the carriage in which were Sharp and his daughter had arrived, the servants were disarmed, the traces cut, and the primate sternly summoned to come forth. In vain his daughter clung to him, and endeavoured to shield him with her arms; in vain he implored upon his knees for that mercy which he had never shown to others: the hearts of his enemies were animated by a fiercer principle than even revenge itself, and he fell upon the highway dispatched with numerous wounds.

Thus perished a tyrant, as tyrants often do, by a cruel and iniquitous deed; a man of blood, his career was brought to a bloody close. Nothing, however, could be more welcome to the privy council, who hoped to transfer the deed of a few rash individuals to a whole party by whom it was disowned. The full tempest of their fury was now let loose, and with the desired effect; for as conventicles were to be attacked and put to the sword without parley, the crowds that repaired to them came armed in self-defence, and were

equally prompt for resistance. The death of the archbishop also gave a new inquisitorial spirit to those soldiers who were let loose over the country, to try and condemn at pleasure. On meeting a suspected person, their first question was, "Do you think the death of Archbishop Sharp was murder?" Some readily answered in the affirmative, while others were silent, not considering themselves entitled to judge of the motives of the actors, or condemn them as murderers. But such scruples of conscience were incomprehensible to these savage soldier-justiciaries; the silence or hesitation of the questioned was taken as a proof of guilt, and if not dragged to prison, he was immediately dispatched by military execution.

The season of popular resistance so longed for by the Scottish rulers, and which they had done so much to provoke, at last arrived, and the signal was given on the 29th of May 1679. On that day, which was the anniversary of the Restoration, eighty armed covenanters entered Rutherglen, where they extinguished the bonfires, burned the acts of council for the restoration of episcopacy, and affixed to the cross a written declaration condemning all the proceedings of government in Scotland during the present reign. This daring act called the government to arms, and Graham of Claverhouse, a name still infamous in Scotland for deeds of blood, was sent against the rebels, with full commission to imprison and extirpate. At the head of a strong body of dragoons he swept the revolted districts, and advanced towards a conventicle assembled at Loudon Hill. But it was no longer a herd of timid worshippers with whom he had to do, but a body of stout-hearted well-armed men under brave officers, who instead of waiting to be assailed and trampled down, resolved to go in quest of their dreaded enemy, and rescue the prisoners he had taken in his march. They accordingly advanced to Drumclog within a mile of Loudon Hill, to the number of a hundred and fifty foot and forty horse, and waited his coming. Their boldness was crowned with success. Claverhouse assailed them with his wonted impetuosity, but was soon entangled among the quagmires that flanked the position of the covenanters; and after several hopeless charges, in which forty of his troopers were slain, and himself almost taken prisoner, he fled to Glasgow, where a strong military force was stationed.

This successful event so raised the spirits of the people, that the numbers of the insurgents were hourly increased, upon which they marched to Glasgow, and drove out the

government troops, who were not strong enough to keep the town. Thus far all had gone prosperously; but unfortunately, a spirit of dissension broke out among the covenanters, although engaged in a common cause, that threatened to frustrate all their efforts. The bone of contention, as Sharp had too justly predicted, was the Indulgence; and the more zealous of the covenanters regarded those among their ranks who had accepted it, as lukewarm, and unworthy of confidence. Had it been a mere political question, the danger they incurred by being in arms against the government might have silenced, or at least suspended it; but it was a great religious principle that was involved, and for the vindication of their religion they were now in arms. It was unfortunate, however, that at such a moment they should have given it such paramount importance, and allowed themselves to be divided by a single church distinction, when the existence of the church itself was at stake.

These dissensions were so fatal, that many retired from their standards, so that when the covenanters posted themselves at Bothwell Bridge near Hamilton, to defend the passage of the Clyde, their numbers, from six thousand, had diminished to four thousand men. In the mean time the government made every effort to quell the insurrection, while the Duke of Monmouth, the king's natural son, who had been appointed general for Scotland, came down from London, and assembled the troops, consisting of ten thousand effective soldiers, with whom he advanced against the insurgents. But even that hour of danger was one of theological debate among the covenanters, so that notwithstanding a gallant defence of the bridge by a determined handful, it was soon taken: the king's troops were marched over, and formed on the other side; and a single attack of horse, foot, and artillery, sufficed to scatter their improvident adversaries, who threw down their arms and fled. Four hundred covenanters fell on the field, and twelve hundred surrendered, of whom many were subsequently brought to the scaffold, but still more were banished to Barbadoes. Not the combatants alone also, but many people dwelling in the neighbourhood, who had not taken arms, were slaughtered by the soldiers in cold blood, upon the mere suspicion of having favoured the insurrection. Even this was not all; for long after the heat of conflict had abated, the battle of Bothwell Bridge was eagerly adopted as a pretext for imprisonment, spoliation, and massacre, in addi-

tion to the charge of frequenting conventicles, and the ensnaring test about Archbishop Sharp's murder.

Besides the division of the presbyterians into two parties by which the common cause had been so endangered at Bothwell Bridge, a third now appeared, by which the separation was to be still farther widened. These were the Cameronians, who derived their title from Richard Cameron, their leader and preacher. Hitherto, notwithstanding the terrible oppression they had endured, the great body of the covenanters had stood true to the principle of loyalty; but at such a period, it is not to be wondered at, if some amidst the severity of their sufferings should begin to doubt and waver—should even reject the authority of a king who had proved to them the worst of tyrants, and by whose agents they were harassed, hunted, and shot among their native mountains with as little remorse as if they had been wild beasts of game. Such kind of rebels were the Cameronians, and under the pressure of their anguish they spoke out loudly and boldly. This they did in the first instance by a startling manifesto read by Cameron at the cross of Sanquhar, surrounded by a body of his followers, in which Charles Stuart was proclaimed a perjured traitor to the covenants he had sworn, a tyrant who had forfeited the allegiance of his people by a reign of cruelty and oppression, and denouncing war against him as a traitor and usurper. This bold deed was afterwards followed by another still more decided. In September 1680, a party of Cameronians met at Torwood, where, after divine service, Cargill, the presiding minister, pronounced the awful sentence of excommunication against the king himself, against his brother and successor the Duke of York, against the Dukes of Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, and against General Dalziel, and Sir George Mackenzie the king's advocate, specifying the crimes of which they were notoriously guilty, and for which they were thus cast out of the church of Christ, and delivered over to Satan. Kings and princes had been excommunicated before now, but it was by their acknowledged superiors, and amidst the more than regal magnificence of the Vatican. Here, however, the deed was done by those whose only church was the mountain-side or the morass; men branded by the law, and liable every moment to the execution of common malefactors. The lordly excommunicates smiled disdainfully when they heard of it, but some afterwards on their death-beds confessed that the sentence weighed heavily upon their souls. In the mean time, how-

ever, the full brunt of their wrath was turned upon those fearless antagonists who had thus entered into the field. The party concerned in what was called the Sanquhar Declaration were soon after surprised at Ayrmooss, in Kyle, by a party of dragoons, under the command of a relentless persecutor, Bruce of Earlshall. Cameron exhorted his followers to stand out to the last; uttered three times the brief prayer, "Lord, spare the green, and take the ripe;" and fell with his brother, fighting in his company back to back. His head and hands were cut off and insolently shown to his father who was in prison, before they were fixed over the town-gate, with the question if he knew them? The old man kissed the bloody relics, and replied, "I know them; they are my son's, my dear son's: good is the will of the Lord, who cannot wrong me nor mine, but has made goodness and mercy to follow us all our days." At the same skirmish, the brave Hackston of Rathillet, one of the heroes of Drumclog, was taken, with fifteen mounted Cameronians, all of whom were executed, and their heads stuck upon spikes over the gates of Edinburgh.

In the changes of government during this reign, each was only followed by a worse. That of Middleton, which was thought intolerable, was outdone by the administration of Lauderdale, whose sentiment was, that it would be better if Scotland produced nothing but sand-larks and windlestraws, than rebels to the king: he was now succeeded by the Duke of York, the worst of the three, who declared, that there could be no peace until Scotland was turned into a hunting-field. This gloomy fanatic, who superadded the merciless zeal of an inquisitor to a disposition naturally morose and unfeeling, not only made a liberal use of the torture, but is said to have watched the infliction as coolly as if he had been trying some experiment in physics. Not men alone, but helpless women also were subjected to his stern ordeal of justice, as if they too were likely to bear arms against the government; and they were drowned by being tied to a stake within sea-mark, or executed upon the scaffold along with the most depraved malefactors. But the Earl of Argyle was the chief mark of his resentment. This nobleman, whose only crime was love of country and the national church, and who as Lord Lorn had so narrowly escaped execution under Middleton's rule, was now arraigned and tried for his life, upon charges so frivolous that the very judges who condemned him were ashamed. He escaped from prison in the disguise of a page, holding up the

train of his sister-in-law ; but his estates were condemned to forfeiture, and his arms were reversed and torn. Happily for Scotland, the administration of the Duke of York although a brief one, was such as to show the people his real character, and alarm them for the consequences of his succession to the throne, the great question now at issue both in Scotland and England. He was recalled to London in 1682, after having placed at the head of Scottish affairs the men upon whom he could best depend, and giving them strict charges to exercise the utmost severity.

It would be both a painful and a dreary task to detail the history of the country during the last three years of the reign of Charles II. : it was a revolting monotony of persecution and oppression, filled with records of trial, confiscation, and execution. Such too was the prevalence of military rule, that this period was called "killing time" in the homely language of the suffering peasantry. No charge was too flimsy, no form of trial too iniquitous, no infliction too severe in the eyes of the judges, from the red-coated functionary dispensing summary justice with his carbine before the door of the hovel upon its shrieking inmates, to the robed magistrate, pronouncing sentence with all the formalities of law.

The last execution to which we will here advert was that of Baillie of Jerviswood, as it may serve for a specimen of the spirit that animated the rulers of Scotland. This noble gentleman, who combined in his character the heroism of an ancient Roman, with the accomplishments of a scholar and the piety of a Christian, was so unfortunate as to possess property upon which those in power had cast a covetous eye. Resolved to make it their own, they devised their charges, and threw him into prison, where he contracted sickness that promised to accomplish in a few days the work of the executioner. This, however, was not what they wanted : by a natural death he would escape attainder and confiscation, and therefore they dragged the dying man to trial, although scarcely able to stand. The charges against him were, that he had harboured and befriended fugitive presbyterians, and been an accomplice in the Rye-house Plot in England, which had for its object the assassination of the king, and exclusion of the Duke of York from the throne. The evidence against him was so utterly worthless, that even the judges were convinced of his innocence : and yet he was condemned to die ! Quick work was necessary, as he was evidently dying fast ; and at one o'clock in

the morning, he was sentenced to be hanged the same day between the hours of two and four, and after death, his head to be struck off, and his body quartered. On returning to prison, he said, "They are going to send me in pieces and quarters through the country : they may hack and hew my body as they please ; but I know assuredly that nothing shall be lost, but that all these my members shall be wonderfully gathered, and made like Christ's glorious body." He was attended in his last moments upon the scaffold, as he had been in prison and at his trial, by his sister-in-law, the daughter of the martyred Johnston of Warriston, who, like a ministering angel, soothed the sufferings, and supported the steps of her exhausted relative. On the scaffold, when he would have addressed the bystanders, his voice was purposely drowned by the beating of drums ; upon which he calmly resigned himself to his fate in silence. Even after death, his severed limbs were treated with gratuitous indignity, being shut up for three weeks in the thieves'-hole, before they were publicly exposed according to the sentence.

It was amidst all this evil, and as if the land could sink no lower under such a rule, that Charles II. breathed his last. His death, which was sudden, was occasioned by apoplexy in the midst of his epicurean festivals ; and in his last moments, he avowed the faith which he had long preserved in secret, by receiving the last rites of the Romish church, and departing amidst the comforts of its absolution and benedictions. The national disgraces with which his reign was crowded ; his utter indifference to the welfare of his subjects, and the facility with which he consoled himself by frivolous amusements and sinful pleasures, for the misery and humiliation of his three kingdoms, made even his most devoted adherents look back to the character of Cromwell, and the grandeur of his administration, with wishful regret. If the protectorship was a usurpation, yet how different from the reign of his legitimate and anointed successor ! The death of Charles II. occurred in February 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.

## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Accession of James VII.—Argyle's unsuccessful invasion—Toleration granted to the Covenanters—Attempts of James to restore Popery—Trial of the English bishops—Landing of the Prince of Orange—Flight of James—William proclaimed king by the Scottish convention—Battle of Killiecrankie—Battle of Dunkeld.

A.D. 1685 to A.D. 1689.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Russia.</i>	<i>Popes.</i>
Louis XIV.	Charles II.	Leopold I.	Peter the Great.	Innocent XI. Alexander VIII.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

1685. Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

1686. Sir Isaac Newton's System of Philosophy published.

THE same dread of division, anarchy, and civil war, and the same longing for peace and security that had animated all classes at the Restoration, prevailed at the accession of the Duke of York, now James II. of England, and VII. of Scotland. At his coronation, he declined the oath for the latter country, as its strict obligations would have opposed those plans for the re-establishment of Popery to which he had looked forward as the great object of his reign. Indemnity, however, was proclaimed to the covenanters, but so clogged with conditions, and especially with the oath of allegiance, that it was utterly unacceptable by those whom it pretended to benefit, and therefore the work of persecution suffered no interruption. On the contrary, its violence was increased, and statutes more stringent than ever were enacted against house and field conventicles, so that it seemed impossible to escape from their penalties. Even when the punishment of death was commuted for banishment to the American plantations, as a foretaste of the worse than negro slavery which awaited the sufferers, they were marked before deportation, to prevent their return, the men having their ears lopped off, and the women being branded in the cheek. It was actually proposed by the commissioner and chancellor in the Scottish parliament, to extirpate the entire brood of the covenant by wholesale, as not only rebels to the king, but pests and enemies to all human kind. These arrogant statesmen might already have known that the bulk of a nation is not to be destroyed so easily: at all events, they should have paused, from the



fear that such a sweeping measure would likely recoil upon themselves with a fearful retribution. The generation had not yet wholly passed away who had seen the hopelessness of a struggle in which the rulers had attempted to trample down the people, and been crushed in the effort.

The first decided reaction against the religious measures of James II. was to come from abroad. The English exiles who had retired to the continent under the just dread of a Popish reign, and the Scottish refugees who had fled thither from persecution, concerted a double invasion for the deliverance of their respective countries, that upon England to be headed by the Duke of Monmouth, and that upon Scotland by the Earl of Argyle. Like many first attempts of a great national revolution, they commenced too early, and ended in utter failure. The first movement was made by the unfortunate Argyle. Having embarked with his adherents in three ships, and reached the Scottish coast at the end of April (1685) he sent the fiery cross through his numerous Highland estates, calling his vassals to arm, and rally round the banner of their chief. Such, however, had been the precautions of the government who were apprised of his design, that little more than two thousand of his people were enabled to join him. With this inadequate handful he descended into the Lowlands: but the covenanters remembering the late ravages of the Highland Host, being dissatisfied with his proclamations, refused to join him: he was confronted by a superior force wherever he turned; and such was the hopelessness of the expedition, that when he reached the banks of the Clyde near Glasgow, scarcely five hundred followers remained, who soon stole away like the rest. Thus abandoned, the earl endeavoured to escape in the disguise of a peasant; but at the ford of Inchinnan, he was attacked by five militia-men, wounded, and taken prisoner, after a brave resistance. Nothing could exceed the indignities that followed. He was marched into Edinburgh like a common murderer or burglar, with his hands tied behind his back, and his head bare. He was even threatened with the torture, to make him reveal the names of his supporters, an atrocity actually suggested by the king himself in his message to the Privy Council; but from such a foul blot in its escutcheon the country was happily saved, and neither the boots nor the thumb-screws were used, nor the name of a single adherent revealed. As a new trial was thought unnecessary in consequence of his former trial and sentence, he was brought to the scaffold on the 30th

of June, where he suffered death by decapitation with a serenity that confounded his enemies.

At last there occurred a lull in the fearful storm of persecution that had raged for so many years in Scotland—but this intermission arose from no principle of clemency. James, resolute to free the papists from those political disqualifications under which they laboured, that he might advance them to offices of power and influence in the state, endeavoured to effect it by an act of universal clemency in which even the Scottish covenanters should be included. This insidious plan was worthy of those Jesuits whom he had chosen as his bosom-friends and counsellors. The Scottish part of the experiment was tried on the 12th of February 1687, upon which day a royal proclamation was transmitted to the council, granting toleration to the moderate presbyterians, and permitting them to assemble for worship. These meetings, however, were to be held, not in churches, but in private houses, and with indulged clergymen for their ministers; while, by the same proclamation, all the penalties of popery were repealed, and its followers made eligible for every public office. The presbyterians saw through this miserable device, which tended only to favour their worst enemies, and the offer was rejected. This proclamation was followed by another on the 31st of March, by which ministers, whether indulged or not, were permitted to preach in private houses during the royal pleasure—still a scanty limitation of their religious privileges, but which several of the clergy accepted for conscience' sake, rather than be condemned to silence. At last, a third indulgence was transmitted to the council, on the 5th of July, by which presbyterians were allowed to worship unmolested in private houses, chapels, or places built for the uses of religion, and all the laws against them to be repealed, except those against field-preaching, which were still to continue in full force. Many of the ministers being thus unfettered, and free to exercise their office, availed themselves of the opportunity, and by the end of the following month, the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr was assembled for the full and effectual resumption of their long-suspended labours.

These covert designs of James for the restoration of popery, were attended in Scotland with such results as tempted him to persevere. The Earl of Perth, veering with the wind of royal favour, had become a papist, and was rewarded with the office of chancellor; the Earl of Murray, descendant of the "good regent," stooping to the same de-

gradation, was made commissioner; and Melfort, brother of the Earl of Perth, who followed the footsteps of the head of his house, was requited with a large share in the administration of government. The value of their conversion may be surmised from their own testimony, that it had been produced by reading the pious dissertations of the late king, found, after death, among the manuscripts in his cabinet! And verily, they had their reward. But the faith of the nation was still sound, notwithstanding the example of these apostate lords; and while the proceedings of James excited universal alarm in England as well as Scotland, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the arrival of fifty thousand French protestants driven into exile, made all classes more apprehensive than ever of the consequences of a popish reign. And happily, this wholesome fear was but the more confirmed and aggravated by the proceedings of James. He drove onward in his purpose with such impolitic violence, that presbyterian and episcopalian, churchman and dissenter, laying aside their wonted disputes, were united as one man by a common danger. It was the existence of the protestantism of Britain that was at stake, not the interests of a single sect or party. On the other hand, the Vatican itself trembled at the headlong career of the British sovereign, so ominous of disaster and defeat; the chief papists of his own court entreated him to pause, or advance more cautiously; and even the Spanish ambassador took the liberty of warning him against those ecclesiastical counsellors, by whom his movements were directed. James asked him in reply, if it was not the custom in Spain for the king to consult his priests and confessors? "It is so," replied the ambassador, "and therefore our affairs succeed so ill."

The ill-advised sovereign had at length accomplished what appeared to be his utmost in behalf of that faith to which he was so devoted. In defiance of law and national feeling, he had introduced the papists into office, with the avowed purpose of supplanting the religion of the realm. He had striven to engross the national education, by placing the principal charges of the universities of Cambridge and Oxford under the control of the Jesuits. By this measure the destruction of the church would have been ensured, by being tainted at the very fountain-head. But, as if even this had not been enough, he went still farther, by publishing a new Act of Indulgence, on the 27th of April 1688, not only extending the privileges of the papists,

but commanding it to be read in all the churches. This could not be borne even by the most devoted believer in the divine right of kings, if still an adherent of protestantism ; and the clergy paused, submissive though they had hitherto been, at a command which compelled them to become the advocates of a hostile faith. Six bishops of the Church of England accordingly presented a supplication, that the national clergy might be excused from an act by which their consistency would be sacrificed, and their church everted. The petition was couched in the most respectful language, and presented with the utmost humility : yet it was insultingly rejected by the king ; and not content with this, the prelates were imprisoned in the Tower, from which they were afterwards brought to trial, but triumphantly acquitted, amidst the applause of the whole nation. This last act, which crowned his folly, also consummated his ruin.

All eyes were now directed to the illustrious William, Prince of Orange, nephew and son-in-law of James, already renowned as the champion of protestantism against the aggressions of Louis XIV. Although his union with the Princess Mary gave him no direct claim to the British throne, yet so urgent was the emergency, that people were disposed to overlook the strict rule of hereditary succession, more especially as James had no son, and Mary was his eldest daughter. So ardent was the national hope, that, even when a Prince of Wales was unexpectedly born, during the troubles occasioned by the imprisonment of the bishops, an outcry was raised, that the infant was not the child of the king and queen, but one borrowed for the occasion, to frustrate the succession of William. The intrigues of the English statesmen, the promises of aid from the nobility, the appeals of the British exiles at his court, and the wishes of all classes of their countrymen at home, had already persuaded William of the necessity of decisive action ; and this event of the birth of a son precipitated the movement. He set sail with a large armament from the coast of Holland, landed at Torbay on the 4th of November (1688) : and his march through the English counties was more like a military promenade or triumphal procession, than an invasion in which the crown of three kingdoms was to be won.

It was now full time for James to depart from a land that would not strike one blow in his defence ; and never was an act of royal abdication attended with less dignity. After the queen had escaped from London, disguised as an Italian lady, and carrying with her the infant Prince of Wales, the

king followed; but the vessel being driven into the isle of Sheppey, the people mobbed him, mistaking him for a Jesuit in disguise; while James, hemmed in by a rabble of sailors, smugglers, and fishermen, alternately shouted, "A boat, a boat!" and wailed over his loss of a piece of wood of the true cross, which had belonged to Edward the Confessor. He got back to London, resumed his royal authority, and even went from the palace of Whitehall to mass, as if all had still been tranquil, when the advance of the Dutch army into the capital awoke him from his fancied security, and compelled him to fly for the second and last time. He reached Rochester in safety, his journey being rather favoured than impeded by his enemies, who considered him as too insignificant to be feared; and thence he left, in a fishing smack, and for ever, that island over which he had reigned, and whose fleets he had previously commanded. What heart can be so dull as not to read the moral of such a departure?

When the tidings arrived in Scotland of the king's flight, indications quickly followed that his influence in that country was at an end. The Earl of Perth fled from Edinburgh in dismay; a party of soldiers, whom he had left in Holyrood for its defence, were attacked and dislodged by the populace; and the schools of the Jesuits, which had been set up in the capital, were destroyed, and their inmates put to flight. It was natural, also, that the episcopal clergy should have their share of the popular wrath. During their day of triumph, they had been the tyrants and the spies of their parishes, furnishing lists of proscription and massacre to the soldiers, and cheering them on in their merciless work. But, perhaps, in no other country would the retaliation have been so moderate. Two hundred were ejected, but peaceably and without hurt; or if an outburst occurred among the people against these shepherds, who had so readily given up their flock to slaughter, it assumed the aspect rather of merriment than revenge. They were marched through their parishes in a sort of mock ovation, with their gowns and bands torn, led to the parochial boundary, and there dismissed in safety, with the significant hint, that their return was unnecessary.

As the throne was vacant, and the functions of government suspended, the proceedings for the restoration were brief and energetic. The Convention of Estates, which was assembled for this purpose on the 14th of March 1689, chiefly consisted of whigs and presbyterians, returned

through the able management of Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Lord Stair; and as Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, was in the capital, with sixty of his troopers, while the Duke of Gordon, who held the castle for James, had threatened to fire upon the convention, the Cameronians, from their dark hiding-places in the wynds and closes, poured out in defence of the meeting, no longer afraid to appear in the light of day, or even to march in arms, and upon the "crown of the causeway," before their late persecutor. As for that dreaded hero, who so lately, from his war-saddle, had given law to the half of Scotland, he now piteously complained that his life was in danger from assassination, and hastily retired from the city. Sagacity and decision marked the proceedings of this convention-parliament. In England, much time and nice discussion had been spent in characterising the vacancy of the throne, and, at last, it was settled that James had *abdicated*, by which phrase his departure was considered as voluntary, and his right of repossession left an open question. But no such scruples delayed the Scots, who at once placed the subject upon its right footing of the king's religion and misrule. They therefore declared and voted, that James had *forfeited* his crown, by which he and all his male issue were thenceforth barred from the royal succession. The crown was then offered to William and Mary, as joint sovereigns; and that no mistake should occur in the agreement, all the infringements that had been made upon the liberties both of church and state, under the two preceding reigns, were carefully enumerated, as grievances to be redressed and removed.

In the mean time, Dundee, who had yielded to the storm, and left the metropolis at the head of his troop of horse, repaired to the Highlands, with the bold resolution of following the steps of his kinsman, Montrose. His appeals to the clans, who were always ready for war and spoil, were so effectual, that troops of Macleans, Macdonalds, Camerons, and other tribes, repaired to his standard. Aware of his activity and remorseless resolution, General Mackay was sent against him; who, eager to reach his antagonist, plunged into the wild pass of Killiecrankie, to give battle to the Highlanders among their own mountains. Dundee, with almost equal numbers, advanced from Blair to the encounter; and Mackay, on clearing the pass, found them drawn up against him on the side of an opposite hill. The Highlanders charged as usual by clans, and with their

wanted impetuosity; while Mackay's soldiers, most of whom had been trained in the Dutch service, reeled under an onset not yet provided for in the drill-sergeant's manual, and in a short time, were driven in headlong flight through the narrow gorge of Killiecrankie, mixed with their nimble pursuers. Two regiments still stood entire, whom Mackay withdrew in safety across the river, and conducted to Stirling. As for Dundee, his career was already ended; his first and last victory had been gained. He was leading his men against the unbroken regiments, and had raised his arm in the act of cheering them forward, when a bullet pierced him in the opening of his cuirass, so that he fell from his horse, and expired in a few moments. His body was stripped by his own mountain followers, to whom all booty was acceptable, and a rude stone was afterwards erected to mark the place where he fell.

The command of Dundee's army, which after the battle had increased, by the arrival of Irish reinforcements, to four thousand men, now devolved upon General Cannon. With these a decisive stroke might have been dealt, more especially as the late defeat had so dismayed the Scottish government, that they talked of abandoning the north to the enemy, and concentrating their troops upon the Forth. But Cannon, besides being an Irishman, and therefore without family or personal influence among the clans, had neither the daring nor the talent of his predecessor. One of those events also interposed, by which, at times, a dreaded thunder-storm of national calamity is dissolved in a shower or a vapour. Mention has already been made of the gathering of the Cameronians at Edinburgh, in defence of the Convention: to complete the good work, they had also raised, in one morning, and without beat of drum, a regiment eight hundred strong, under the command of Colonel Cleland, which was stationed for the defence of Dunkeld, during the apprehended invasion from the Highlands. Eager to cut them off, Cannon came down upon them by a sudden march, surrounded them with his whole army, and summoned them to surrender. Although they were abandoned by their horse, who left them as men doomed to inevitable ruin, they answered the summons with a bold defiance, entrenched themselves behind some slight enclosures in front of Dunkeld House, and waited the onset. Assailed by overpowering numbers, they repelled every attack; even when their stock of bullets was exhausted, they cut the lead from the roof of Dunkeld House, and converted it into slugs; and they agreed, that

should their position be forced, they would entrench themselves in the building, defend it to the last, and when overpowered, set fire to it, and perish in the flames. Wearied at last with hopeless efforts, and despirited by the loss of men, the assailants withdrew, declaring to their officers, who endeavoured to urge them back, that they could fight with men, but not with devils. Regarding the cause as hopeless, they returned to their homes; and thus the formidable insurrection vanished. But dearly did the Cameronians pay, by the loss of their gallant leader, for a victory that more than counterbalanced the disgrace of Killiecrankie. His exhortations had animated their resistance, and his excellent dispositions tended to make it effective, when in the heat of the assault he was pierced by three bullets. Feeling himself mortally wounded, he attempted to retire into the house, that the sight of his death might not discourage his soldiers, but fell dead upon the threshold.

Colonel Cleland, as may be easily surmised from this short notice, was no ordinary character. Not only a sufferer but a leader in the cause of the covenant as soon as he had left college, he was one of the commanders at Drumclog at the early age of eighteen, where he not only contributed greatly to the success of the day, but almost succeeded in taking Claverhouse himself prisoner. At the revolution, when he repaired to Edinburgh with his regiment, he challenged that terrible enemy of his people to single combat, an invitation which the latter does not seem to have accepted. Besides his high soldier-like qualities, which brought him so early into the field, he was an accomplished scholar and admirable poet, so that his verses, which are still read with pleasure, would have ensured him distinction, independently of his chivalrous deeds and heroic death. How much, indeed, might have been anticipated from the life of such a man, who died in the arms of victory, at the early age of twenty-eight!



## CHAPTER XXXIX.

Ireland advocates the cause of James—Siege of Londonderry—  
James defeated at the Boyne—State of the Highlands—Massacre  
of Glenco—Darren Expedition—Death of William.

A. D. 1689 to A. D. 1702.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*France.*  
Louis XIV.

*Spain.*  
Charles II.  
Philip V.

*Russia.*  
Peter the Great.

*Sweden.*  
Charles XII.

*Germany.*  
Leopold I.

*Popes.*  
Alexander VIII.  
Innocent XII.  
Clement XI.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1692. Hanover made an Electorate of the German Empire.
- 1692. Naval Battle of La Hogue.
- 1692. William defeated at Steenkirk by Marshal Luxemburg.
- 1697. Peace of Ryswick.
- 1697. Peter the Great defeats the Turks at Azoph.
- 1700. Charles XII. takes Copenhagen.
- 1701. James II. dies at Saint Germain.

WHILE the succession of William to the throne was thus established in Scotland by military conflict, it encountered a still more formidable opposition in Ireland. There, by far the majority of the people being papists, the cause of James was adopted not only as a national, but a religious principle. An army of between forty and fifty thousand was therefore speedily raised for his restoration; the leading protestants of the country were quietly disarmed by the arts of Tyrconnel, the lord-deputy, who adhered to the cause of his old master; and nothing seemed wanting but the presence of James himself, not only to complete the submission of Ireland, but also to conduct from it a successful invasion into Scotland or England. James, therefore, left Saint Germain, where he had established his fugitive court, and embarked on the expedition through the aid of his ally and host Louis XIV., who supplied him with a fleet and a few foreign regiments. He landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March 1689, and was received by the whole country, except Ulster, with the most ardent welcome. It was in that province that his career was to be stayed. Its population, chiefly formed from the Scottish

emigrants with whom James VI. had colonized this part of the island, and subsequently augmented by the influx of covenanters whom the persecutions of his successors had driven thither, were not only animated by all the fervour of their national presbyterianism, but a keen recollection of the manifold injuries which the house of Stuart had inflicted upon their fathers and themselves; so that they were determined rather to perish to the last man, than allow the obnoxious race to regain their ascendancy. Here, then, was an obscure nook of the empire, in which the persecuting sovereigns in their pride of power had been treasuring up against themselves a righteous retribution. Here, the last of their crowned heads was to be defied, baffled, and held at bay, until his strength was broken, and his cause ripened for destruction.

The first attempt of James was the capture of Londonderry, the key of the north of Ireland, by which the whole province of Ulster would have been reduced to submission. This presbyterian town, however, was already prepared for his coming. Even before the treacherous proceedings of the lord-deputy had been discovered, they refused to receive a popish garrison which he had sent ostensibly for their defence; and finding that Colonel Lundie, their governor, was in the interests of James, they deposed him, and elected Major Baker, and Mr Walker, a presbyterian minister, as joint governors in his stead. It was this military divine who was the chief hero of the defence of Londonderry, not only by animating the people from the pulpit, but by heading the sorties in the field, and directing the artillery on the walls. The siege that followed has scarcely a parallel in history, except that of Saguntum in ancient, and Saragossa in modern times. On James advancing, and summoning the place to surrender, he was answered by a fire of cannon: he then attempted to carry it by storm, but for eleven days was foiled in every effort; upon which he committed the siege to General Rosen, and retired to Dublin, to open the Irish parliament. Rosen, a savage who had been trained in the merciless wars of Louis XIV. against the protestants of Germany, collected all the inhabitants within ten miles of Londonderry, drove them up to the walls between the fire of both parties, and proclaimed that he would put them to the sword unless the town was surrendered in ten days; whereupon the townsmen erected a tall gibbet, on which they threatened to hang all the prisoners that fell into their hands, and desired him to send

priests to confess and absolve them. As Rosen had wasted the whole surrounding district, his victims whom he had huddled round the ramparts were perishing by hundreds ; while within, the famine was so complete, that the besieged, after exhausting their provisions, were obliged to eat their horses, dogs, and even the vermin of their cellars. And still the resistance was gallantly maintained ; not a word of surrender was uttered. At length, when the siege had lasted four months, during which, eight thousand had perished in the town, by shot, famine, or disease, the survivors, who were more like shadows or skeletons than human beings, were relieved by reinforcements and a supply of provisions, upon which, Rosen hastily broke up the siege and retired.

While James was thus wasting time and exhausting his resources upon a town that he could not take, William had made good use of the diversion, by establishing his government, and preparing for an invasion of Ireland in person ; and he landed at Belfast on the 14th of June 1690. On the 1st of July was fought the decisive battle of the Boyne. The imbecility and cowardice of James in the whole course of this important engagement, as well as the contrast exhibited by the skill and daring of William, were so apparent, that the gallant Irish soldiers, after their defeat, could not help saying to the conquerors in the full humour of their country, "Let us only exchange kings, and we will fight the battle over again." James now considered his cause so hopeless, and his personal safety so much endangered, that he hastily embarked with a slender train for France, to resume his monkish austerities, and carry on the less dangerous warfare of plotting his rival's overthrow by assassination. Soon after the battle of the Boyne, William was obliged to return to England, after having made such provident arrangements, that on the following year the Irish war was brought to a successful termination.

On succeeding to the full management of the British empire, William soon found that he had been promoted to an office possessing few of the attractions of royalty. As a foreigner, he was the object of that insular jealousy with which his new subjects were wont to regard every stranger : as a prince without the full measure of that hereditary right which so often palliates the arbitrary proceedings of sovereigns, his measures were closely scrutinised, and too often thwarted by those who regarded him as king merely by the grace of the people. His way had been facilitated to the throne by many who thought no demand too unreasonable,

no favour too great, to compensate their services ; and when their extravagant hopes were disappointed, they were ready to return to their old allegiance, and intrigue as diligently for his removal, as they had done for his accession. His councils therefore were attended, and important offices were filled, by men who were willing to betray their trust to Louis XIV. and the court of Saint Germain. And these difficulties, although so great, were even surpassed by those that encountered his rule in Scotland. Himself a presbyterian, he was naturally inclined to favour that cause, especially after it had suffered so much, and been so steady to his interests. But every concession which he could make in its favour, however just or necessary, was opposed not only by the episcopalians in England, who had so lately seen their church in danger through a sovereign of a different creed, but by the Scottish episcopalians also, who were still politically influential, by having the greater part of the aristocracy on their side. To these perplexing difficulties may be traced the few errors in William's administration, especially the massacre of Glenco, which has fixed an indelible blot upon his memory.

To understand this unfortunate event, it is necessary to call to mind the condition of the Highlands. These barren mountains had always been occupied by a redundant population, incapable of that steady perseverance which might, in time, have surmounted the penury of their soil, and wrung from it the resources of agriculture. They preferred to reap where others had ploughed and sowed ; and while they looked down upon the fertile plains of the industrious Saxons, it was with the feeling, that these territories had once been their own, the fruits of which they were justified in appropriating as often as they could. Hence that warlike spirit and love of adventure by which they were distinguished, in common with all the robber tribes that have existed since the days of Ishmael. Whether the enterprise might be designed to lift a drove of cattle, or to raise a fallen dynasty, the same spirit animated them, and the same gainful object was in view, so that a Montrose or a Rob Roy was valued by the amount of booty that could be collected under his leading. The danger from such a race was especially to be apprehended at an unsettled period like the present, and when the crown itself was in debate between two hostile claimants ; and every kind of rule was uncertain, from the facility with which they might be allured to the standard of a success-

ful leader. These consequences were especially apprehended by the Lowland statesmen, but the remedy they devised was worse than the wildest atrocities of the Highlanders themselves. That remedy was slowly and warily proposed. At first, the episcopal lords offered not only to mar every attempt in behalf of James in the Highlands by negotiation, but to raise an armed force among the mountaineers for the maintenance of order, if certain concessions were made to the Highland chiefs, and a sufficient sum allowed to buy them over. These concessions were made, and the sum of twelve thousand pounds was furnished to the Earl of Breadalbane, to be expended in gifts and pensions. But this money immediately became a bone of contention between the earl and the chieftains, the latter complaining that their services were too cheaply valued, and that Breadalbane wished to retain the greater part of the sum to his own uses. Incensed at this charge, which was thought to be not wholly unfounded, Breadalbane proposed his plan of pacification, which was seconded by the influence of Sir James Dalrymple, the leader of the Scottish statesmen. This was nothing less than the utter extirpation of every doubtful or hostile clan that failed to make submission to the government on or before the first day of the following year.

This stern rescript was effectual, and the denounced chiefs hastened from their fastnesses to subscribe to the pacification. Among these was Macdonald of Glenco, who was particularly obnoxious to the Earl of Breadalbane. Dreading such a powerful and vindictive enemy, the old mountain patriarch was eager to make his submission; but from the depth of the snow, and other obstacles in his journey, he did not reach Inverary until two or three days after the term of grace had elapsed. Moved however by his tears, the sheriff received his oath of submission, and certified under hand the causes of his delay. But this document was iniquitously concealed; the Macdonalds were represented as obdurate rebels, and a commission was drawn out to which the king's signature was procured, to proceed against them with fire and sword. Accordingly, in the following month of February (1692), two companies of soldiers, one of which was commanded by Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, uncle to the wife of one of the chief's sons, entered the valley of Glenco with peaceful professions, and were received as friends, Campbell being quartered in the house of his kinsman, and the soldiers in the huts of the clansmen. For

a fortnight they enjoyed the hospitality of their unsuspecting entertainers, at the end of which they rose up at midnight and commenced the foul work of massacre. The old chief was shot in the act of rising from bed ; his wife was stript naked, and even the ring torn from her fingers by the teeth of a savage soldier, so that she died next morning from horror and distraction. No quarter was given by the military butchers ; men, women, and children, were shot down or stabbed without distinction. In this way, thirty-eight perished, for the rest of the clan, alarmed by the fire of musketry, had escaped at midnight to the hills, under shelter of a storm ; but the huts were destroyed, and those women and children who had escaped the sword, were exposed to perish among the snow. A shudder went through the land when this infamous deed was known : the tidings were carried over to the continent, where they deepened the unpopularity of William, and excited general sympathy in behalf of James and his adherents. So far also from quelling the insurrectionary tendencies of the Highlanders, it only kindled them into tenfold fury, until they blazed forth in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Those rebels who had then ceased to care about the Stuarts, as a race who had faded from their memories, could still be animated to the overthrow of the Hanoverian dynasty by the simple watchword, "Remember the massacre of Glenco."

After the first ferment occasioned by this event had in some measure subsided, the attention of the Scots was called to the important subject of commerce. Hitherto, their wars with England, and subsequently the persecutions of the Stuarts, had occupied their full attention as well as drained their resources, so that notwithstanding their insular advantages, they still continued to be the poorest nation in Europe. But now that other countries were daily increasing in wealth and power, they were anxious to share in the advantage, and exchange the precarious benefits of military adventure, now so greatly diminished, for those of mercantile enterprise. In this mood, a prospect for the new impulse was opened up to them, such as dazzled the most cautious. This was the Darien expedition, proposed by John Paterson, a Scotsman of uncertain origin but remarkable talent, who is said to have spent his early life as a buccaneer or pirate. In this wild career, he is supposed to have acquired not only the geographical knowledge, but also that love of daring and adventurous speculation, which his whole scheme exhibited. His commencement as a projector was in Eng-

land, where he suggested the plan of the National Bank ; but although it was adopted, and the bank established, he was defrauded of that reward to which his labours were entitled. He then turned his attention to his native country, where, without unfolding his views in their full extent, he suggested to the most influential of the Scots the possibility of a more complete trade with the East Indies for themselves, than that which they had hitherto enjoyed through the medium of the English Company, whose charter had been lately renewed. The idea was eagerly caught and cherished as a national speculation ; and as the public resentment had not yet cooled upon the affair of Glenco, the application was favourably received by the king, so that the Scots were fully permitted to erect towns and forts, and establish colonies, for trading with Africa and the East Indies. Paterson then unfolded cautiously, and by degrees, the whole of his gigantic scheme. The Isthmus of Darien being not yet appropriated by the crown of Spain, and only inhabited by a few tribes of Mosquito Indians, was to be occupied and colonised ; a town and mercantile emporium were to be established upon each side of the isthmus ; and thus, by laying hold upon the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the new settlement would wrest the golden keys of the world from the hand of Spain, and become the great commercial mart of the East and West Indies. The colony also was to be made a residence for the industrious of all countries, as no distinction was to be made of party or creed. Much outlay of capital, as well as the labour and perseverance of years, would be necessary to realise the full advantages of so vast an adventure ; but Paterson carefully represented the immediate and certain profits that would reward the colonists, from the fertility of the climate, and the rich gold mines with which the country abounded.

An active movement immediately followed this new direction of the national energies ; and as England was comprised in the benefits of the Scottish Company, three hundred thousand pounds were subscribed to the capital by the rich merchants of London, in the short space of nine days. This sum, however, was almost as speedily withdrawn through the interference of the English parliament, under the instigation of the East India Company, that dreaded the establishment of such a formidable rival. But this opposition, like a southern war-signal, instead of daunting, only roused the ardour of the Scots : they would carry on the enterprise single-handed ; and although the country, at

all times poor, was at present oppressed with double poverty from the failure of the harvests during the three previous years, yet a capital of four hundred thousand pounds was speedily subscribed—an immense sum for Scotland, even had the season been one of national prosperity and abundance. The work of colonization was begun on a commensurate scale, by sending out a fleet carrying fifteen hundred bold emigrants, three hundred of whom were gentlemen, accompanied by Paterson himself, and furnished with all things necessary for the foundation of a lasting settlement. On reaching their destination, instead of slaying and taking possession, as colonists had hitherto done when force was on their side, the new comers purchased the land from the natives, after which they began to build their town under the name of New Edinburgh, and proclaimed it a free port to which all nations were invited. But this first blush of prosperity quickly flitted away. The Scots were new to the toils and the difficulties of colonization; a withering sun, and the unhealthy rains of the tropics, sickened and exhausted them, while the jealousy of the Spanish and English colonies intercepted all aid or intercourse; so that in eight short months, the few survivors of this ill-fated expedition who had outlived famine, disease, and, the attacks of the Spaniards, broke up the settlement and returned to Europe. But before their arrival in Scotland, a second, and afterwards a third shipment was sent, consisting in all of sixteen hundred adventurers, who embarked full of hope for this land of promise, and on reaching it, found to their dismay the houses and forts demolished, and their countrymen gone. On recovering from the shock, they endeavoured to establish themselves upon the ruins of their predecessors; but, unsupplied with provisions, and assailed by the Spaniards, they were obliged, after three months, to capitulate to a fleet sent against them from Carthagera, so that few of them returned to their native country.

Such was the disastrous termination of an enterprise the promise of which was so alluring, that the whole national wealth and enterprise had been thrown into it, and which perished through the commercial jealousy of England, Holland, and Spain. Even the king himself had been compelled to yield to the storm, and allow the colony to be overpowered by its enemies. It was unsafe for him to offend England, by favouring the mercantile aggrandizement of so inferior a country as Scotland: he was compelled to give ear to the



remonstrances of his people of Holland, who regarded the Darien settlement as an interference with the interests of their own colonies; and his course of politics required him to propitiate Spain, that he might arm that country against the aggressions of his powerful rival, Louis XIV. And of all this combination unhappy Scotland was the sacrifice, because if least fitted to endure such an injury, she was also reckoned least capable to resent it. Her first great enterprise in that commercial character by which she was afterwards to become so distinguished, had involved her in a loss that almost amounted to utter bankruptcy; and all this had befallen her, because she was no longer a separate independent kingdom, but bound up in the interests of a stronger and wealthier rival. Such was the indignant conclusion of the argument; and it was carefully treasured up, with the remembrance of Glenco, as the subject of future reprisal.

After the unfortunate close of the expedition of Darien, little occurred in the events of Scotland during this reign demanding particular notice. The death of William himself, which happened on the 8th of March 1702, at Kensington palace, was occasioned by a fall from his horse, through the effects of which he expired a fortnight afterwards. His character as exhibited in Scottish history presents few points of attraction: it is not there, but in his glorious career as the protector of the liberties of Europe, and the champion of Protestantism, that his great deeds are to be known, and his heroic worth appreciated.

## CHAPTER XL.

Accession of Queen Anne—Desirableness of the Union between Scotland and England—Obstacles to it in both countries—Terms settled—Hostility provoked in Scotland by their proposal—Speeches in Parliament—Union settled—Conclusion.

A. D. 1702 to A. D. 1707.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>France.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>
Louis XIV.	Philip V.	Leopold I. Joseph I.
<i>Sweden.</i>	<i>Russia.</i>	<i>Pope.</i>
Charles XII.	Peter the Great.	Clement XI.

## IMPORTANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS.

- 1702. The French colonize the Mississippi.
- 1703. Admiral Rooke takes Gibraltar.
- 1704. Victory of Blenheim.
- 1704. St Petersburg founded by Peter the Great.
- 1704. Victory of Ramilies.

ON the demise of William, Anne, the last surviving of the Protestant daughters of James II., ascended the throne of the three kingdoms. A short period only after her accession, that important measure was agitated, which constitutes the chief incident of her reign, distinguished as it was by brilliant events: this was, the Union of Scotland with England. It had been an event anticipated by the reflective of both countries, ever since the junction of the two crowns, although the attempt to accomplish it had been constantly defeated. It had been a favourite project of James VI. from the moment of his succession to the crown of England; it had been attempted by Cromwell, in his proposal to the Scots called the Incorporation; and William was so much impressed with its desirableness, that, even in his dying moments, it lay closest to his heart, and his last message to the parliament had advised its immediate attention. After expressing the earnest wish which he had cherished upon the subject from the commencement of his administration, the message added: "His Majesty would esteem it a peculiar felicity, if, during his reign, some happy expedient for making both kingdoms one might take place; and is therefore extremely desirous that a treaty for that purpose might be set on foot, and does, in the most

earnest manner, recommend this affair to the consideration of the House."

If such a union had been reckoned desirable in those earlier periods when the royal succession was uninterrupted, or when an energetic rule compensated for the want of a national incorporation, it was especially so at the present day, when all was a transition period of division and uncertainty. To guarantee the safety of the protestant religion, the succession to the throne of Britain had been vested in Sophia, dowager of Hanover, the descendant of James VI., and in her protestant family, to the exclusion of James II. and his immediate descendants. But this resolution had been passed without consulting the Scots, who were therefore justly offended; their national relenting towards the Stuarts was daily becoming stronger; and the time might come when the exiled race would be recalled to the throne of Scotland, as Charles II. had been, and England itself invaded by a Scottish army for the restoration of the banished dynasty. Experience, also, had shown the precarious nature of that government, which results from two independent parliaments ruling under one crown, and how easily they might be brought, not only into angry collision, but arrayed against each other in a deadly national warfare.

Urgent, however, although these motives were for the complete union of the two kingdoms, there were others on the opposite side, of such force as threatened altogether to prevent it. The Scots had always been proud of that independence for which they had battled so bravely for centuries; but by a union, they would be silently absorbed in the immense superiority of England, and utterly annihilated as a free and independent nation. They would lose their parliament, their laws, their political identity; even their very church, for which they had suffered so much, would fade away under the overshadowing hierarchy of England. From these and other such considerations, almost every party and class of men in Scotland were furnished with an argument against the measure, and a personal motive to resist it. Ever since the junction of the two crowns, their kirk had been persecuted by episcopalian England; the patriotic plans of their best statesmen had been liable to be brow-beaten and controlled by the English parliament: their nobility had carried the wealth of the country to the great metropolis, and the commerce of the land had been opposed, crippled, and all but ruined at the outset, through the jealousy of English monopolies and English companies. And

if such had been the evils of a mere approximation, were they likely to be amended by a close indissoluble union with a rival so powerful and so sensitive?

Nor was this keen feeling of aversion wholly confined to Scotland: English pride and prejudice had also to be overcome. Scotland was to share in the wealth, the traffic, and political advantages of one of the richest and most illustrious of nations. But what had she to offer in return? With a barren soil, an exhausted treasury, and a scanty revenue, she had all to receive, and nothing to give. Her articles of export were of the poorest description, and even the few ships in her harbours were not her own, being mostly hired from Holland. The country, indeed, might increase in wealth, but in the first instance, it must be at the expense of England; and her commercial enterprise might establish for her a footing in those countries from which she had hitherto been excluded, but every step thus won would supplant the mercantile interests of England. And that Scotland would enter into this new field with her characteristic ardour, and in all likelihood be successful, they had good cause to conclude. They had already experienced the enterprising and money-making talents of the Scots, under all the disadvantages of English restrictions: their adventurers were already taking their places among the merchant-princes of London, while nearly three thousand Scottish pedlars were plying a gainful trade over the English counties. And was the field to be thrown open, and every obstacle removed, for such dangerous competitors? Such a union might be a dire necessity, but it was not a profitable alliance.

That necessity, however, was so strong on either side, that the measure could no longer be delayed. Accordingly, after much preliminary discussion both in England and Scotland, and much dissension and angry debate, thirty-one commissioners for each kingdom were assembled in the cockpit of St James's, for the arrangement of the terms. Their deliberations commenced on the 16th of April 1706, and on the 23d of July their labours were completed, and the result presented to the queen. The amount of discussion involved in that interval was commensurate with the stupendous event intrusted to their management, and fully illustrative of the difficulty of such a singular alliance between a rich and a poor country equally proud and jealous of their liberties, and equally watchful in granting concessions. Another difficulty was one of a commercial character, and

founded upon the national debt of England, which amounted to the then incalculable sum of twenty millions sterling. What equivalent was Scotland to gain for sharing in such an overwhelming responsibility? If she participated in the advantages of English citizenship and commerce, she must also tax herself for the liquidation of that debt with which such advantages were encumbered. Here, however, it was represented, that the annual revenue of England, amounting to nearly six millions, would annihilate the national debt in a few years, while a compensation equivalent to her share of the burden would be paid into the Scottish treasury. Three hundred and ninety-eight thousand pounds were appropriated for this purpose, out of which a recompense was to be made for the equalization of the excise and taxes with those of England, and a foundation laid for the establishment of a mercantile capital, and the repayment of the losses occasioned by the Darien failure.

The important question of profit and loss having been thus adjusted, the next that occurred was that of the representation of Scotland in the British parliament. Hitherto, that of the Scots had consisted of a hundred and forty-five lords, and a hundred and sixty commons, men who had learned to be proud of their office, and were now disposed to value it more highly than ever, from the increase of political importance which it was daily acquiring. But the Scottish commissioners were astounded at the proposal that their country should be limited to thirty-eight members for the House of Commons. They indignantly answered, that this would constitute only a thirteenth part of the general representation, while their population amounted to more than a sixth; and that such a number was wholly inadequate to maintain the rights and liberties of their country. To this it was rejoined, that the Scots were to pay even less than a fortieth part of the land-tax. After much altercation, the thirteenth was reduced to a twelfth, so that forty-five members were to be returned for Scotland. While two-thirds of the commoners were thus excluded, a still harder measure was dealt to the Scottish peers, of whom only sixteen were to have seats in the House of Lords. This was a grievous humiliation to these proud and far-descended nobles, whose names were identified with the history of their country for ages, and whose feudal power and consequence were still influential, although feudalism was now unknown in England; so that their opposition might have been sufficient even yet to quash the whole project of a

union. But here the Scottish commissioners were assured, that those of their number who were nobles should be invested with English peerages, to qualify them for a place in the senate, and that the same privilege would be gradually extended to all the nobility of Scotland. This prospect silenced the proudest, and the measure was fully allowed.

These were the principal conditions of the Union, to which the others were merely subservient; and the chief merit of their adjustment on the side of Scotland was owing to the Duke of Queensberry, and Dalrymple, Earl of Stair, who were backed by all the Whig commissioners on either side of the house, with whom it was a measure of the most vital party importance. But the great tug of war had still to be encountered. These terms were next to be presented to the Scottish parliament and nation, and the boldest hearts trembled to enter upon that arena. The experiment was made on the 3d of October (1706) when the last of Scottish parliaments was opened at Edinburgh by the Duke of Queensberry as royal commissioner. The terms had hitherto been kept a profound secret; and now that they were first divulged, they were ordered, after a short and moody debate, to be printed. It was then that the wrath of the nation blazed up in full fury, and the land rang from side to side with the expected remonstrances. Scotland, it was alleged, was about to be turned into a mere province of England; their representation in parliament would be even less than that of Cornwall; and their poor handful of members would have to sit dumb in the proud senate of England, or give their assent for form's sake to every question that had secured a majority. And this was not the worst. Their church too was on the point of extinction, being liable every moment to be annihilated by the vote of the English prelates from their places in the House of Lords. The cry at last swelled into, "War with England,—war to the death rather than such a union!" Edinburgh was thronged by crowds from every part of Scotland, who had come up to watch over the safety of their country, and every street and lane resounded with the outcries of mobs and the speeches of orators: Queensberry and his coadjutors were overwhelmed with execrations and threats, and the provost of the city, who had been one of the commissioners, was in hourly danger of being torn in pieces. The tempest now appeared so irresistible, that the leading unionists gave back in despair; nay, they would even have adjourned the parliament, and abandoned their great project to be trodden in

the mire, had it not been for the encouragement of Godolphin, the English minister, who assured them of protection in their moment of need by troops from England and Ireland, and even from Flanders, the seat of war, should such a measure be necessary. Encouraged anew by these assurances they resumed their labours, and resolved to commit them to the issue of parliament.

The intensity of religious zeal, the ardour of patriotism, and the fierce rancour of party spirit animated those debates that followed, in which such important and personal interests were at stake, so that Edinburgh, famed as it had been for its heart-stirring assemblies, had never yet witnessed any thing like the present : it was the last and mightiest struggle of an expiring nation, while that which constitutes a nation's life was in the act of passing away. The arguments against the union were chiefly conducted by Fletcher of Salton, the Brutus of Scotland, and by Lord Belhaven. Fletcher, who was distinguished by his ardent love of liberty, and stern uncompromising honesty, characterised the proceedings of the commissioners in the most severe terms. He declared that they had *betrayed* their country ; and on being challenged for the use of this offensive term, he fearlessly replied : " I can find no other word to express my ideas of their conduct. It is a harsh one, indeed, but it is true ; and if the House think me guilty of any offence in using it, I am willing to submit to their censure." His opponents dropped the inquiry, and the patriot sat down unrebuked.

But of all the speeches, that of Lord Belhaven was the most remarkable : it resembled the inspiration of an ancient seer announcing coming woes, rather than the address of a senator ; and it continued to vibrate upon the Scottish heart long after many of his predictions had been found erroneous. At the conclusion, he exclaimed : " The enemy is already at our gates ; Hannibal is within our gates ; Hannibal is at the foot of the throne, which he will soon demolish, seize upon these regalia, and dismiss us never to return to this house again ! Where are the Douglasses, the Grahams, the Campbells—our peers and chieftains who vindicated by their swords from the usurpation of the English Edwards the independence of their country, which their sons are about to forfeit by a single vote ? I see the English constitution remaining firm ; the same houses of parliament ; the same taxes, customs, and excise ; the same trading companies, laws, and judicatures ; whilst ours are either subjected to new regulations, or annihilated for ever. And for what ?

—that we may be admitted to the honour of paying their old, and presenting a few witnesses to attest the new debts they are pleased to contract. Good God ! is this an entire surrender ? My heart bursts with indignation and grief at the triumph which the English will obtain to-day over a fierce and warlike nation that has struggled to maintain its independence so long. But if England should offer us our own conditions, never will I consent to the surrender of our sovereignty, without which, unless the contracting parties remain independent, there is no security different from his who stipulates for the preservation of his property when he becomes a slave." Will it be believed that such a speech was attempted to be answered by a still-born jest ? The Earl of Marchmont who rose to reply, said, He had heard a long speech, and a very terrible one ; but he thought it required only a short answer, which he would give in these words, " Behold, I dreamed ; but lo ! when I awoke, I found it was a dream."

On the various parliamentary discussions being brought at last to a close, the union was carried by a majority of thirty-three votes. While the popular storm out of doors continued to rage unmitigated, it was wonderful to perceive how the opposition within had cooled, and how easily the result was obtained. It appears, however, that twenty thousand pounds had been sent down from the English treasury, and adroitly distributed among nineteen recusant peers and eight commoners, while the opposition of others had been softened by promises of place and pension. And yet, notwithstanding all the arts of cajolery and bribery which were so successfully used, the whole bulk of the nation was so decidedly hostile to the union, that at every stage it might have been destroyed, but for the solemn guarantees that were given at the outset for the safety of the Church of Scotland. This was wisely cared for, before the other articles were presented for discussion ; and an Act of Security was passed, ratifying and establishing the Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian form of church government. " This act of security," it was added, with all the strength of language, " shall be held and observed in all time coming, as a fundamental and essential condition of any Treaty of Union to be concluded betwixt the two kingdoms, without any alteration thereof, or derogation thereto, in any sort, FOR EVER."



In this manner was an event so desirable to both countries, and yet apparently so hopeless, at last accomplished. What the valour and policy of centuries had failed to effect, was finally achieved by the bribery and intrigues of a few third-rate politicians. Can we fail to recognise in such a result the interference of a more than human power directing these worthless agencies, to make the two nations become one? And that such an interference was one of benevolence and mercy, who can doubt, while contemplating the results of that union? It was much that England should have been allowed to pursue her career of grandeur, unchecked by a sister nation whose continuing alliance was doubtful, and whose hostility was at all times dangerous. But Scotland gained even more than this by the change. Not only was her precarious liberty established, and her soil emancipated from wasteful invasion, but her energies called forth, and a wide field provided for their exercise. It was now that she commenced a new national existence to which all her past career had been but a preparatory training, and accomplished in a few years the work of ages. And what has been the drawback of all this incalculable gain? Merely this—that it is no longer to be read in the History of Scotland, but in that of GREAT BRITAIN.

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